The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum Part Two

R. Campbell Thompson

THE REPORTS

OF THE

MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS

OF

NINEVEH AND BABYLON

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY

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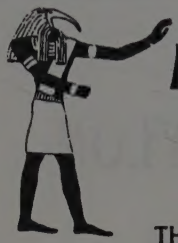

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TO

FREDERICK WILLIAM WALKER, M.A.,

HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,

A MARK OF GRATITUDE

FOR MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT, HELP,

AND KINDNESS.

Preface.

SINCE the year 1865, when the late Rev. Edward Hincks, one of the early pioneers of the science of Assyriology, first made known to the world the existence of Assyrian tablets inscribed with texts relating partly to astrology and partly to what we now call astronomy, students have devoted much time to the investigation of this class of documents. Prof. Jules Oppert and the late François Lenormant still further advanced our knowledge of astrological and other cognate texts in a series of learned papers, but it was not until the publication of Prof. Sayce's paper, entitled "The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians," that any very considerable progress was made in this difficult branch of Assyriology. It is true that the cuneiform texts which formed the base of this work had already been published by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the third volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," but Prof. Sayce was the first to show the general drift and meaning of their contents, and to enable us to appreciate the accuracy of the traditions of Greek and Roman writers on Babylonian astrology and astronomy.

With the view of supplementing the labours of the above mentioned scholars, I have printed in the first volume of this work, in cuneiform type, the texts of about two hundred and eighty Astrological Reports, of which only about fifty have hitherto been published. It is hoped that this mass of new material will be useful to Assyriologists, who will now, if we may judge from the descriptions of the tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection given by Dr. Bezold in his "Catalogue," have before them the texts of the complete series of the Reports found at Nineveh. In the second volume I have given transliterations of these texts, and, wherever possible, translations; where translations have been impossible, owing to breaks or the occurrence of words unknown to me, I have made no attempt to render them in English. Of the duplicate texts, about two hundred and twenty in number, the transliterations only have been given. All important variants have been added in the Notes to the translations.

It is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of the texts herein published, but it may be pointed out that the glosses and explanations of difficult phrases, which they frequently give, are of the highest value philologically, and they certainly throw considerable light on the professional methods adopted by the early Mesopotamian astrologers. Moreover, it is probable that a number of the astrological reports were written with the special object of informing the king and his people whether certain months would or would not

contain thirty days, and if this be so, we may eventually find it necessary to modify our views concerning the lengths of the various months of the Assyrian year. This point is more fully treated in the Introduction.

In conclusion, my thanks are due to Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge for his valuable help, and to Mr. L. W. King for many useful suggestions.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

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Introduction.

For more than two thousand years the records of Babylonian and Assyrian astronomy lay buried and forgotten under the ruins of Assyrian palaces, and all that was known of the subject came from a few passages in the Bible and in the works of Greek and Roman writers. To the Hebrews the sorceries of Babylon were an accursed thing, and the prophet Isaiah[1] scoffs at them in these words: "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee." Among Greek writers Strabo[2] (died A.D. 24) asserted that the Chaldeans were skilled in astronomy and the casting of horoscopes, and Aelian[3] (3rd century A.D.) mentions the fact that both the Babylonians and Chaldeans enjoyed a reputation for possessing a knowledge of astronomy. Achilles Tatius[4] (6th century) reports the

[1] Isaiah xlvii, 12. [2] xvi, 1, 6.
[3] xxii, *ed.* Hercher, Paris.
[4] *Ex Achille Tatio Isagoge, ed.* Petav., 1.

existence of a tradition to the effect that the Egyptians mapped the heavens, and that they inscribed their knowledge on their pillars; the same tradition declared that the Chaldeans claimed the glory of this science, the foundation of which they attributed to the god Bel. For this last belief there seems to be some evidence in a statement of Berosus,[1] to the effect that the god Bel created the stars and sun and moon, and the five planets. Diodorus Siculus,[2] a contemporary of Augustus, tells us that the Babylonian priests observed the position of certain stars in order to cast horoscopes, and that they interpreted dreams and derived omens from the movement of birds and from eclipses and earthquakes. The general evidence of serious writers leads us to believe that astrology formed part of the religious system of the Babylonians, and it certainly exercised considerable influence over the minds of the dwellers between the Tigris and the Euphrates. In any case, the reputation of the Chaldeans, *i.e.*, the Babylonians and Assyrians, for possessing magical powers was so widespread, that the very name Chaldean at a comparatively early date became synonymous with magician. From Mesopotamia, by way of Greece and Rome, a certain amount of Babylonian astrology made its way among the nations of the West, and it is quite probable that many superstitions which we commonly regard as the peculiar product of Western civilisation, took their

[1] *Ancient Fragments, ed.* Cory, *p.* 28.
[2] ii, 29.

origin from those of the early dwellers on the alluvial lands of Mesopotamia.

At the time when the astrological forecasts printed in this book were composed, the district of Babylon, where they were written, was bounded on the north-west by Akkad, on the north-east by Subarti, on the south-east by Elam, and on the south-west by Aḫarrû; in other words, Babylonia was open to invasion on every side. The astrologer or the prophet who could foretell fair things for the nation, or disasters and calamities for their enemies, was a man whose words were regarded with reverence and awe. They were written down as treasures to be preserved for all time and to serve as models for the benefit of his successors in office. The soothsayer was as much a politician as the statesman, and he was not slow in using the indications of political changes to point the moral of his astrological observations. Thus the so-called astrological forecasts contain elements which it will be impossible for the modern student to explain until the complete history of the political relationship of Babylonia with her neighbours is fully known. Nothing was too great or too small to become the subject of an astrological forecast, and every event, from a national calamity such as famine or disaster to the army, down to the appearance of the humblest peasant's last born child, was seriously considered and proved to be the result of causes which had already been duly recognised.

When Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, B.C. 668-

626, added to the royal library at Nineveh, his contribution of tablets included many series of documents which related exclusively to the astrology of the ancient Babylonians, who in turn had borrowed it with modifications from the Sumerian invaders of the country. Among these must be mentioned the Series which was commonly called "The Day of Bel," and which was declared by the learned of the time to have been written in the time of the great Sargon I, king of Agade, *c.* 3800 B.C. With such ancient works as these to guide them, the profession of deducing omens from daily events reached such a pitch of importance in the last Assyrian Empire, that a system of making periodical reports came into being, and by these the king was informed of all occurrences in the heavens and on the earth, and the results of astrological studies in respect to future events. The heads of the astrological profession were men of high rank and position, and their office was hereditary (*see* Diod., II, 29). Under the chief astrologer were a number of officials who on certain occasions together addressed the king; thus Rammânu-šuma-uṣur, Nabû-mušíṣi and Ištar-šuma-iriš write together (*see* K. 5470); Rammânu-šuma-uṣur and Marduk-šakin-šumi write together (*see* KK. 1087, 1197); Rammânu-šuma-uṣur, Arad-Ía, Ištar-šuma-íriš and Akkulanu write together (*see* K. 1428); Ištar-šuma-íriš, Rammânu-šuma-uṣur and Marduk-šakin-šumi write together (*see* K. 527); and Balasî and Nabû-aḫî-íriba write together (*see* KK. 565, 569). Among other duties, it was the duty of

the astrologers to write both omen reports and letters, and certain letters mention, incidentally, facts which we should hardly expect to find in this class of document. Thus the writer of K. 167 excuses himself from setting out on a journey because the day is not favourable; the writer of K. 551 tells the story of how a fox made its way into the Royal Park of the city of Assur and took refuge in a lake, but was afterwards caught and killed; and the writer of Rm. 73 tells the king that he believes the twentieth, twenty-second and twenty-fifth days to be lucky for entering into contracts.

The variety of the information contained in these reports is best gathered from the fact that they were sent from cities so far removed from each other as Assur in the north and Erech in the south, and it can only be assumed that they were dispatched by runners or men mounted on swift horses. As reports also come from Dilbat, Kutha, Nippur and Borsippa, all cities of ancient foundation, the king was probably well acquainted with the general course of events in his empire.

Of the documents printed in this book all but three are astrological; they are written on rectangular clay tablets varying in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$, and they generally bear the sender's name. They contain quotations from ancient astrological works concerning the omens, but it is interesting to note that, although the *ipsissima verba* were preserved, the interpretations were based upon more modern

lines. Thus Aḫarrû originally meant the land which lay close to Babylonia on the west, but as the Babylonian power extended the boundaries of the country, Aḫarrû became a name synonymous with Phœnicia and Palestine, and it is in this sense that it is used by the astrologers of the later kingdom. Again, Subartu originally meant a certain district in Northern Babylonia, but in later times it came to mean Assyria proper, and one astrologer, writing in Assyrian, says "We are Subartu." The astronomical reports, which we may subsequently find to have been prepared for use in some way by the astrologers, have been omitted from this volume, because they partake of the nature of letters. We may, however, call attention in passing to those which were sent by Nabûa of the city of Assur to Nineveh, for they concern the movements of the Sun and Moon. Thus in K. 603 he reports that the Sun and Moon were seen together on the fourteenth day of the month, and another report of his states that "we saw the Moon on the twenty-ninth day."

From certain passages in the astrological tablets it is easy to see that the calculation of times and seasons was one of the chief duties of the astrologer in Mesopotamia, and it seems probable that they were acquainted with some kind of machine for reckoning time. In No. 170 (*see* p. lxii) mention is made of an instrument called *abkallu šiḳla*, to which the name *Bêl-riminû-uḳarrad-Marduk* was given. Now the words *abkallu šiḳla* mean "measure-governor," and it

is probable that they indicate the existence of a kind of clock. It must not be forgotten too, that Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.* 21) states that the clepsydra was known to the Chaldeans. Herodotus too, (ii, 109), says that the Greeks borrowed certain measures of time from the Babylonians, (and from the tablet 83-1-18,247, *etc.*,) we learn that the Babylonians actually had a time measure by which they divided the day and the night. This measure was called *Kasbu*, and contained two hours; two *kasbu* formed a watch, and three watches made up the night. These facts are proved by the report quoted above, in which we are told that in such and such a day in Nisan the day and night were balanced, there being six *kasbu* of the day and six *kasbu* of the night, the allusion being, of course, to the vernal equinox.

We know from several sources that the Assyrian year consisted of twelve months, each containing usually thirty days, and an intercalary month called the "second Adar" (the Ve'Adar of the Hebrews): the Babylonian year consisted of the same number of months, but two intercalary months, Elul and Adar, were added.

The examination of the texts edited in this volume indicates that the Assyrians, like the Babylonians, had a year composed of lunar months,[1] and it seems that the object of the astrological reports which relate to

[1] On this subject see Oppert, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie; Bd.* XI, p. 310, *Bd.* XII, p. 97; and Lehmann, *ibid. Bd.* XI, p. 432.

the appearance of the Moon and Sun was to help to determine and foretell the length of the lunar month. If this be so, the year in common use throughout Assyria must have been lunar. The calendar assigns to each month thirty full days; the lunar month is, however, little more than twenty-nine and a half days; therefore some of the calendar months must consist of twenty-nine days only. In proof of this statement, I submit the following facts. On No. 171 (*see* p. lxii), which is a report from Balasi, we read, "When the Moon does not wait for the Sun" such and such things will happen. The prediction is followed by the words, which are clearly those of the astrologer, "It appeared on the fifteenth with the Sun." "When the Moon is not seen with the Sun on the fourteenth day of Adar" such and such things will happen. The prediction is followed by the words, which are again clearly those of the astrologer, "The day will complete Nisan." Since the Moon appeared without the Sun on the fourteenth, and with the sun on the fifteenth, the Moon and the Sun will not be in conjunction before the afternoon of the twenty-ninth day; in this case the Moon would not be visible[2] until the first day of the next month. It must be noted that when the

[2] *Cf.* on the period of the Moon's invisibility *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. III, *pl.* 51, l. 9, "The Moon waned on the twenty-seventh day: we watched for an eclipse of the Sun on the twenty-eight, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days; the Moon appeared on the first day [of the next month]." In No. 240 (*see* p. lxxvi) it is also stated that the period of the Moon's invisibility may be three days. See also Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 30.

astrologer uses the words "this night," he does not refer to the day on which he is writing, but to the *eve* of the day, *i.e.*, last night. The words "The day will complete Nisan" refer to the thirtieth day of the month, and we know from other texts that they indicate that the month will contain thirty full days.[1] A further proof of this is that the omen concerning the appearance of the Moon on the first day is often accompanied by that for "the day in its proper length," *i.e.*, the ordinary full length day in the calendar month. Not infrequently a note is added to the effect that the day completes the month. Here we must notice in passing the use of the words *ûmu utarra*, *i.e.*, "the day turns back." The astrologer uses these words in cases where the Moon has been seen with the Sun on the fourteenth day, to indicate that the Moon will appear on the thirtieth day of the month, and therefore there will be only twenty-nine days in the next month (*see* No. 53, obv. 2, p. xliii). In certain cases where the phrase *ûmu utarra* occurs, *e.g.*, Nos. 62 and 70, the omens on the tablets relate to the moon on the thirtieth day.

An examination of No. 171 shows that this tablet was written at the end of the year in the month Adar, and that the calendar month corresponded with the lunar month, and further, since Nisan (which began the year) is the only other month mentioned, it is

[1] *Cf.* the passages:—No. 36, obv. 3 *minat arḫi . . . ûmuXXX kám ušal[lam]*, No. 42, obv. 4, *ša ina arḫu Tašrîti ûmu ušallamma*, No. 52, obv. 1, *iᵈˢⁱⁿ Sin ina arḫu Nisanni ûmu ušaliam.*

clear that no second Adar was used in this year. If all the months had contained thirty days each, and to these an intercalary Adar had been added every six years to make up the solar year, as we should naturally expect would have been done, it would hardly be possible for the calendar month and the lunar month to correspond so exactly at the end of a year in which an intercalary month was not added. We are therefore probably right in assuming that each month did not necessarily contain thirty days, and there is evidence to show that the intercalary month was added at a period less than six years.[1] From the above it is clear that the length of the month was foretold from the appearance of the Moon and Sun on or about the fourteenth day of the month. In No. 119 the astrologer reports that the Moon was seen on the twelfth day with the Sun, and he makes use of the phrase "The Moon appears out of its time." It is interesting to note that Maimonides, in speaking of the Moon, says "When the Moon is seen on the thirtieth day, she is called the Moon seen in its time,"[2] and the same writer seems to refer to the variation in the length of the month, *i.e.*, whether it contains twenty-nine or thirty days, when he states that Marcheswan and Kislew may be either "full" or "hollow."[3]

[1] On the months containing twenty-nine and thirty days in use at Babylon in the era of the Seleucidæ, *see* Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomiches aus Babylon*, p. 179.

[2] Kiddush Haḥodesh, *ed.* Witter, Jena, 1703, I, 4.

[3] *Op. cit.*, VIII, 5.

From various indications derived from the astrological reports, it is clear that the class of magicians who calculated the length of the months and published information concerning them formed a very important section of the Babylonian and Assyrian priesthood, and it is evident from the denunciations hurled against them by Isaiah, in whose book they are described as *môdî'îm leḫŏdašim* (Isaiah, xlvii, 13), that they occupied one of the most prominent places in the hierarchy of Babylon.

The Assyrians called the seven planets by the same names by which they were known in Babylonia, *i.e.*, *Sin* (the Moon), *Šamaš* (the Sun), *Umunpauddu* (Jupiter), *Dilbat* (Venus), *Kaimânu* (Saturn), *Gudud* (Mercury), *Muštabarrî-mûtânu* (Mars). The twelve signs of the Zodiac, which were also known to the Babylonians, are thus called :—

	Late Babylonian.[1]	Assyrian.
Aries	*Ku* (*sarikku*)	*Inmîsara.*[2]
Taurus	*Te-te*	*Gud-Anna.*[3]
Gemini	*Tuâmu*	*Tuâmu.*
Cancer	*Pulukku*	*Allul.*[4]
Leo	*Arû*	*Urgula,*[5] *Urmaḫ.*[6]
Virgo	*Širû*	*Širû, Dilgan.*[7]
Libra	*Zibanitu*	*Zibanitu.*
Scorpio	*Aḳrabu*	*Aḳrabu.*
Sagittarius	*Pa*	*Pabilsag.*[8]

[1] *See* Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomiches aus Babylon*, p. 149; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 497.

[2] *Kosm.*, p. 61 f. [3] *Kosm.*, p. 62. [4] *See* p. xxxv.

[5] *Kosm.*, p. 66. [6] *See* p. lxxii. [7] *See* p. xl.

[8] *Kosm*, p. 496.

	Late Babylonian.[1]	Assyrian.
Capricornus	*Enzu*	
Aquarius	*Gu*	*Gu-Anna.*[3]
Pisces	*Nunu*	*Nun-šamî* (?)[4]

The reports of the Mesopotamian astrologers prove that their writers deduced omens from all the celestial bodies known to them, but it is clear that the Moon was the chief source from which omens were derived.

The shape of the Moon's horns was examined with great care, and it was noted whether they were pointed, "equal," or "unequal." Thus we are told that "If the horns are pointed, the king will overcome whatever he goreth"; the action of the king is here likened to the use to which horns are put by animals. And again we read, "When the Moon rideth in a chariot,[5] the yoke of the king of Akkad will prosper." And again, "When the Moon is low at its appearance, the submission [of the people] of a far country will come to the king."

Halos, both of the Moon and of the Sun, were fruitful sources from which omens were derived. Two halos were known:—One of 22°, called *tarbaṣu*, and the other of 46°, called *supuru*. Each of these words mean "sheepfold," and it is understood that the Moon is the shepherd of the stars or the celestial

[1] *See* Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 149; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 497.

[2] *Kosm.*, p. 73. [3] *Kosm.*, p. 497. [4] *See* p. lv.

[5] Compare the idea of the Greek goddess Selene.

"sheep" which are within the halo. The influence of the Moon on sheep and cattle upon earth is thus described: "Thy word, O Moongod, maketh sheep-fold and cattle-pen to flourish." When a *tarbaṣu*, *i.e.*, smaller halo, was seen to surround the Sun with the gate, *i.e.*, interruption, opposite the south, it was thought that a south wind would blow; but this has been the experience of all observers of the weather, for the direction of the interruption indicates that wind and rain will come from that quarter.[1] It is well known that Sun-halos are usually seen in the west or south-west when the Sun is low on the horizon, and the lower portion of the halo is cut off by the gloom of the horizon. In European countries[2] storms usually come from those quarters of the sky, and this is also true for Mesopotamia. It is interesting to note that a tablet (K. 200) is inscribed with omens which are derived from the interruptions of a halo which correspond to the four cardinal points. From the presence of planets or constellations within the halo of the Moon, numerous omens are derived. The words, "When the Sun stands within the halo of the Moon." would at first sight appear to prove that the word *tarbaṣu* does not mean "halo," but we learn from the notes written by the astrologers (*see* No. 176) that by the word "Sun" we must understand the "Star of the Sun," *i.e.*, Saturn, and we now know that the omen for the Sun in such a case would be given just as if the

[1] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *ed.* Wood, p. 64.

[2] Abercromby, *Weather*, p. 36.

Sun were occupying the place of Saturn. From Eratosthenes, too, we learn that Saturn was called Sol.[1]

There are no omens for Venus or Mercury standing in the halo of the Moon, for neither planet can appear near the full Moon. When a star, standing in the halo of the Moon, is described in the omen as *Lubad*, a common name for Mercury, it must, of course, be understood to mean simply "planet."

Dark halos round the Moon were regarded by the Assyrians, as well as by other nations, as indications of rain, and it is noteworthy that a Greek writer like Theophrastus[2] says, "Dark halos are a sign of rain, particularly those seen in the afternoon." Aratus, the Cilician, informs us that dark solar halos indicate rough weather.[3]

The appearance of the Sun with the Moon about the fourteenth day was noted with great care, and for the express purpose of calculating whether the month would contain twenty-nine or thirty days.

The astrologers noted:—(1) whether the Sun and Moon were seen together above the horizon; (2) whether they were balanced (*šitḳulu*), that is to say, both on the horizon, one setting and the other rising; (3) whether one had set and the other had not yet risen, both celestial bodies being, in consequence, below the horizon, that is to say, invisible (*šutatû*). The word "invisible" represents as nearly as possible

[1] *Ed.* Bernhardy, *Hygin.*, II, 42.
[2] *Ed.* Wood, 22, p. 60.
[3] *Diosemeia, ed.* Prince, p. 43.

the meaning of *šutatû*, as we may see by the phrase *miḫissu šutatû*, *i.e.*, "whose wound (or sickness) is invisible," which occurs in the hymn to Nírgal.[1] The same view of the meaning of this word is also held by Dr. Jastrow.[2] The word *šutatû* had probably another shade of meaning also, for the word *ittintu*, which means the gradual disappearance of the Moon as it draws near the Sun at the end of the month, is once used as its equivalent (*see* No. 124, obv. 4).

In several places in astrological reports we meet with the words *nidu nadi*, which seem to mean "casting a shadow, or image, or reflection." The "image" appears at the sun's zenith, to the right or left of the Sun; in one case four such "images" are mentioned. I cannot help thinking that these "images" refer to mock suns.

A number of omens were derived from the entrances of planets into the signs of the Zodiac, and the influence of the stars in the various sections of it was thought to be very considerable. The places where the gods stood in the Zodiac were called *manzalti*, a word which means literally "stations," and we are probably right in assuming that it is the equivalent of the *mazzâlôth* mentioned in II Kings, xxiii, 5.[3] The use of the word in late Hebrew is, however, somewhat more vague, for *mazzal*, though literally meaning a constellation of the Zodiac, is also

[1] Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, IV, 24, 1, 36,37.

[2] See *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 359.

[3] See Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 348.

applied to any and every star, and in *Berêshîth Rabbâ*, *c.* x, it is said, "One *mazzal* completeth its circuit in thirty days, another completeth it in thirty years."

From certain texts we learn that the star *Akrabu* was sometimes seen within the halo of the Moon. Now according to Jensen,[1] *Akrabu* may mean either the Scorpion or Venus; but in the case of the star within the halo of the Moon, Scorpio, and Scorpio only, is referred to by the astrologer.

It is not always easy to follow the train of reasoning which guided the derivation of omens; on the other hand, others are based on common everyday experience. Thus, dark clouds heralded wind; thunder on the last day of the Moon was followed by steady markets; thunder on a cloudless day indicated the advent of darkness, storm, and famine; storms were the heralds of favourable events; earthquakes portended destruction, the invasion of enemies, insurrections and the fall of buildings; eclipses typified disturbance, and their evil effects could only be averted by prayers. In the series of prayers entitled the "Lifting of the Hand,"[2] we find a number of formulæ which are to be recited with the object of securing the protection of the gods during and after eclipses, and it is certain that they formed no unimportant section of the devotional literature of the Assyrians. For the purpose of accurately recording partial eclipses, the face of the Moon was divided into four parts, and each part was identified with a certain country (*see* p. lxxxv);

[1] *Kosmologie*, p. 71. [2] King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*.

the portion to the right was Akkad, that to the left was Elam, the upper part was Aḫarrû, and the lower part Subartu. A total eclipse of the Moon was called *atal mâtâti, i.e.*, a "darkness of the countries."

The greatest possible care was taken by the astrologers to observe and to record the duration and extent of partial eclipses.

Some of the portents from births recorded in the Reports are remarkable, and among these may be mentioned one in which we are told that the writer augured an increase of power to the king, because a sow brought forth a pig which had eight legs and two tails (*see* p. xci). This curious object was, we are told, afterwards preserved in brine.

A perusal of the Astrological Reports will convince the reader that the style and language in which they are written are not only somewhat obscure and difficult grammatically, but that their writers took pains to make their forecasts and portents as unintelligible to the uninitiated as possible. Whenever they were able they added an alternative portent. It is possible, indeed probable, that many of the difficulties which encompass the study of Babylonian magic, astrology and sorcery, will be removed by the publication of abundant material, and that at length we may obtain to a knowledge of the general principles which guided the astrologer in formulating the decisions as to the future, which exercised such a great and lasting influence over the minds of the dwellers in Mesopotamia.

TRANSLATIONS.

TRANSLATIONS.

I. When the Moon Appears on the First Day of the Month.

No. 1. When the Moon appears[1] on the first day, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied. When the day is long according to its calculation, there will be a long reign. From Bulluṭu.

Obv. 1. The appearance of the Moon on the first day indicated that the calendar month began coincident with the lunar month, and that the day was its proper length.[2]

Obv. 2. KA.GI.NA = *sanâḳu ša pî* (Brunnow, *List*, No. 618). It is glossed *pu-u i-kan* in No. 42, Obv. 5.

Obv. 4. The day is calculated to last as long as the Sun remains above the horizon. *Cf.* 81–2–4, 63, Obv. 15, 'the day is the Sun,' and No. 173, Obv. 2, 'the Suns are days.' The use of *minâti* is closely paralleled by the Syriac *menyâna* in *hânôn d'menyâna d' sahra m'nên*, 'those who measure the duration of the moon.' (*S. Ephraemi Syri, Opera Selecta, Ed. Overbeck, Oxonii*, 1865, 72, 3.) Nos. 2–6 are very similar. No. 5, Obv. 3, contains the note *minat arḫi ûmu XXX ušallam*, *i.e.*, in consequence of the Moon's appearance on the first day, the thirtieth day of the month will be completed. See Introduction, p. xxi.

[1] K. 960, a large tablet beginning this way, has been omitted, the remainder being almost illegible. Of other so-called astrological reports, K 115, consisting of quotations from prayers similar to those of the Raising of the Hand, and sent by Ištar-šuma-íriš, and such tablets as 83–1–18, 206, Bu. 91–5–9, 156 ('lucky days'), *etc.*, and the large unsigned tablets, which probably are not included in this Series, have been omitted.

[2] It will be noticed that the preterite is rarely used by the astrologers to express past time (except in the protases of omens) when speaking of astrological phenomena; the present with *-ma* attached is far more common. The general rules for the tenses in these texts are:—Omen-protasis, preterite; Omen-apodosis, present. Outside the omens, the present does duty for the future or present, while past time is expressed by the present with *-ma* appended.

No. 7. When the Moon appears on the first day, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied. When the day is long according to its calculation, there will be a long reign. When the Moon is full, the king will go to pre-eminence. From Ištar-šuma-íríš.

Obv. 5. *Agû Apir*, literally 'puts on a royal head-dress.' See Jensen, *Kosm.* p. 103 ff.

No. 9. When the Moon appears on the first day, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied. This is for Nisan and Tisri (?). When the Moon is regularly full, the crops of the land will prosper, the king will go to pre-eminence.

Obv. 4. *Agû Apir kaimânu ma*, *i.e.*, the Moon is full on the same day in each month. This will happen if the astrologers are careful in regulating the length of the calendar month. The omen differs slightly in No. 10, obv. 5, 'The crops of the land will prosper, the land will dwell in security, the king will go to pre-eminence.' No. 11, rev. 2, has the writer's comment, 'It is a lucky omen for the king, my lord.' No. 11A, rev. 2, differs slightly in the omen for the length of the day, 'there will be a long reign, the years of the king (will be numerous).' Nos. 12–14 are very similar.

No. 15 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). In Tammuz the Moon and Sun were seen with one another on the fourteenth. From Bíl . . . . May Bel and Nebo give greeting, happiness, health, long days, long years, and the establishing of the foundation of the throne of the king, my lord.

No. 16 (*Obv. ff.*). Adar and Elul, the beginning of a year, are like Nisan and Tisri. At the beginning of the year the Moon sends a lucky sign for the long reign of the king, my lord. From Aššur-šarani.

No. 17 (*Obv.* 6 *ff.*). When the Moon appears on the first day, it is lucky for Akkad, evil for Elam and Aḫarrû. The month Ab is Akkad. It is lucky for the king, my lord. From Nabû-šuma-iškun.

No. 18 (Rev. 3 ff.) contains a communication from Bíl-naṣir. 'Bíl-ípuš, the Babylonian magician, is very ill: let the king

command that a physician come and see him.' Rev. 5, *lillik-limur* are the equivalents of the Hebrew jussive. *Cf.* I Sam. xviii, 21, *etc.*

No. 19 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). May Assur, Samas, Nebo and Merodach day after day, month after month, year after year, grant happiness, health, joy and exultation, a secure throne for ever, for long days and many years to the king my lord. From Nabû-iḳbi.

No. 20 is similar to No. 19, except obv. 5 ff. 'When hail comes in Sebat, there will be abundance for men and the market will be high.' The word *abnu*, properly 'stone,' is used for hail in No. 261, obv. 4.

No. 21 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). Two or three times during these days we have looked for Mars, but could not see it. If the king, my lord, should say 'Is it an omen that it is invisible?' it is not. From Ištar-šuma-íríš.

Obv. 5. The idiom for 'two or three' is the same in Assyrian as in Hebrew. *Cf.* II Kings, ix, 32. On *Muštabarrû-mutânu* see Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomiches aus Babylon*, p. 110.

Obv. 8. *irtibi* Jensen, *Kosm.* pp. 15, 226A.

Rev. 2. For this use of *mímíni* after an interrogative *-u*, *cf.* K. 522, 9, 14 (quoted Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, under *izirtu*, p. 38a).

No. 21A (*Obv.* 3–4). Mars went forth from Cancer (*Allul*) last night.

Obv. 4. *Allul.* That this is a constellation and not a single star is apparent from K. 4292, obv. 17, ff. (Craig. *Astrol. Astron. Texts*, Leipzig, 1899) *Ana* ^{mul} *LUL . LA ana tibut(ut) šâri* ^{mul} *LUL . LA*[1] ^{mul} *AL . LUL. Ana kakkabâni* ^{pl} ŠI ^{pl} ša ^{mul} *AL . LUL . DIR* ^{pl} *la tibut šâri*, etc.). In the reports, the appearance of Allul within the Moon's halo is recorded about twelve times; once within the halo about the same time as Gemini (No. 114), and once about the same time as Regulus (No. 114A). Further we are told that Venus passes from

[1] ^{mul} LUL . LA is explained by *sa-ar-rum* (W.A.I. II, 49, 3, 35), probably by mistake for LUL . A (*i.e.*, Mars).

Allul to the tropic of Cancer in five or six days (No. 207), *i.e.*, 8–9 degrees. Cancer is the only constellation which agrees with these conditions.

The later name of Cancer was Pulukku (Jensen, *Kosm.* p. 311), but this does not occur in these texts.

No. 22 (*Obv.* 4—*Rev.* 3). Assur, Samas, Nebo and Merodach have delivered Kush and Egypt into the hands of the king, my lord. In the army of the king, my lord, . . . they have carried off their spoil (and) . . . have made all their forces enter thy royal seat Nineveh, and have enslaved their captives. In the same way may Samas and Merodach deliver the Cimmerians and Mannaî . . . all that are opposed to the king into the hands of the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, capture all the silver, gold, . . . (and) their forces.

Obv. 4. Since the writer states that Kush and Egypt have been overcome, and prays that the Cimmerians and Mannaî may meet with the same fate, it may be inferred that the letter was written about the time of Assurbanipal's third expedition. Egypt was not finally subdued until his second campaign, and it was shortly after this that the Assyrians came into contact with the Lydian king, Gyges. Gyges, finding the Cimmerians too strong for him, followed the advice which had been given him in a dream, and sent to ask help from Assyria. His request was granted, and the Cimmerians submitted for a time; but the Lydian king forgot the benefits of Assurbanipal, and sent his army to aid Psametik, king of Egypt, who was chafing under the Assyrian yoke. The Assyrians naturally resented this breach of faith and withdrew their help, thereby allowing the Cimmerians to rise against Lydia for a second time. Gyges was slain, and his son, who made peace with Assyria, ruled in his stead. Then followed the fourth expedition, directed against the Mannaî with a successful issue, and it is probably to these events that our tablet refers. We may therefore assume that it was written about 660 B.C.

II. Omens from the Horns of the Moon.

No. 25. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of the month . . . . . will devour. When at the Moon's appearance its horns

point away from one another, there will be an overthrowing of fortresses and downfall of garrisons. There will be obedience and goodwill in the land. (GI = *taraki* . GI = *šalamu* . GI = *kânu* 'its horns are *kunna*.') It is evil for Aḫarrû, but good for the king, my lord. From Zakir.

Obv. 3. *turruka: tarâku* is to 'rend asunder,' and probably here is the opposite of *miṯḫara*, No. 26, Obv. 6. We find on K. 7192 a description of the various shapes of the Moon's horns (Obv. 3 *ff.*), 'When the Moon's horns are *UR.BI.MI*" (equally dark), UR.BI *nam-ra* (equally bright), KI.LA.DAN *mit-ḫa-ra*, KI.LA.DAN NU *mit-ḫa-ra*, *kima* GIŠ.BAN (like a bow), *kima* GIŠ.MA.(ΓU) (like a boat).'

Obv. 4, 5. *paṭar*, *arad*, infinitives used as nouns. For *arâdu* in this sense, *cf.* Deut. xx, 20.

No. 26. When the Moon's horns face equally, there will be a secure dwelling for the land. When at the Moon's appearance (its horns) are pointed, the king wherever his face is set will rule the land, (or) wherever he presses on will overcome. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant, the greater.

Obv. 6. *miṯḫara* I, 2 of *maḫâru* = 'to be equal.' *Cf.* Aratus (*Diosemeia*, *ed. Prince*, p. 41), 'If on the third day the two horns do not undergo any change, and (the Moon) does not shine, lying upon her back, but the points of her horns incline equally . . . .'

Rev. 1. *uddiṭa* II 1, of *ṭêdu* = 'to sharpen.'

Rev. 6. *maḫrû* is used also in this way of Ašaridu. The converse is *ḳaṭnu*, i.e., Ašaridu *maḫrû* and Ašaridu *ḳaṭnu*, which seems to point to two different people.

No. 28 (*Obv.* 3–5). When the Moon at its appearance a bright day (?) . . . . *kurusissu* will come and devour the sesame. (*Rev.* 2 *ff.*) When a star shines forth and like a knot (?) from sunset to sunrise disappears, in Elam . . . the enemy will capture . . . : the forces of Elam . . . . . From Zakir.

Obv. 4. *kurusissu*, perhaps a worm or insect.

Rev. 2. SUR, *i.e. iṣrur*, is the usual word for a star rising.

Rev. 3. The character *lib* (?) may be *ḳi* (?).

No. 29 (*Obv.* 2 *ff.*). When at the Moon's appearance its horns are pointed, the king of Akkad wherever he goes will rule the land, (or) the king of Akkad wherever his face is set will ravage the land. When at the Moon's appearance its face is turned to the left . . . . dates and . . . (?) . . . When at its appearance a north wind blows (in that month a flood will come). Jupiter passed to the place of sunset: there will be a secure dwelling, welfare lucky for the land. When the Sun reaches its zenith with a parhelion (?), the king will be angry and there will be war. (Jupiter has remained in the heavens many days.) From Ašaridu, the greater, the king's servant.

Obv. 2. *idda;* see No. 26.

Rev. 4. *nidu*; see Introduction, p. xxvii. For the character translated *izziz*, *cf.* No. 181, obv. 4, and Amiaud et Méchinaux, *Tableau Comparé*, No. 226. A variant is given in No. 183, obv. 3, *iz-ziz*.

No. 30. When at the Moon's appearance its right horn is long and its left horn is short, the king's hand will conquer a land other than this. When the Moon at its appearance is very large, an eclipse will take place. When the Moon at its appearance is very bright, the crops of the land will prosper. When the day is long according to its calculation, there will be a long reign. The thirtieth day completed the month. In Elul an eclipse of Elam. From Nirgal-iṭir.

Obv. 6. *ikru:* Syriac *k'ra*.

Rev. 1 *ibta'il* is the opposite of *unnut; cf.* No. 167, rev. 7, *ba'il u šaruru naši*, contrasted with l. 10, *unnut u šarurušu maḳtu;* and No. 232, rev. 3 where *utanat* is contrasted with *ib'il*. Both *ba'il* and *unnut* seem to indicate a gradual change into *šaruru naši* (becoming bright) and *šaruru maḳtu* (brilliance smitten) respectively. Another form of the root *a-n-t* seems to be *ittintu* (IV, 2), used constantly for the Moon's approach to the Sun and gradual disappearance or fading away; see No. 124, obv. 1, *etc.* It is once used, presumably by mistake, for *šutatû* (No. 124, obv. 4), but the similarity of the two words may have occasioned a scribe's blunder. Further instances of *ba'il* are:—No. 183, 5, *ina ba'il zimušu adir:* 89-4-26, 160, obv. 8-10 ^{mul} *Muštabarrû-mûtânu ba'il* ^{mul} *Muš*

tabarrû-mûtânu aâu lib ᵃʳᵇᵘ Airi ba'il šaruri naši, i.e. 'Mars is bright: since the middle of Iyyar it has gradually grown bright and has assumed a brilliance.' W.A.I. III, 53, 1, 5, *etc.*: K. 2894, pub. P.S.B.A. 1893, p. 317, l. 17 *kakkabâni ᵖˡ -šu ba-'-lu. Unnut* from No. 167, rev. 10, appears to mean 'grows dim': *cf.* also K. 7661, obv., Col. I, 1 [*Ana sin ina tamarti*] *-su un-nu-ut u SI ᵖˡ -šu AN . DI . RI . A, etc.*, and No. 274 P. obv. 1, *unut ša atali* . . . 'The gradual dârkening caused by the eclipse.' *Cf.* also the omen on No. 60, obv. 1. On the other hand, *ittintu* may be a quadriliteral root like *ikkilmi.*

Rev. 5–6. On these see Introduction, pp. xxi, xxviii.

No. 31 (*Obv.* 3–5). When the Moon at its appearance is bright, the heart of Akkad will live, will be bright, the people will see plenty.

No. 32 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Tammuz, there will be a wasting of countries. (Let not the king be anxious (?) about the evil: the Moon has been darkly full and its horns have . . . which is lucky for the king). From Ašaridu the greater, the king's servant.

Rev. 4. The Moon's crown is dark and its horns visible, *i.e.*, the dark portion of the Moon's circle is to be seen.

No. 33 (*Obv.* 3 *ff.*). Mars which has stood in Scorpio to go forth . . . turns. Until the twenty-fifth day of the month . . . (it stays), it then goes forth, its brilliance being diminished. Let the king, my lord, be satisfied, let the king rejoice greatly; until it goes forth let the king take care of himself. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant, the greater.

No. 35 (*Obv.* 8 *ff.*). When at the Moon's appearance its horns are sharp and bright, the king of Akkad, wherever his face is set, will rule the lands. When the Moon at its appearance is bright, ... its heart will live, the people will see plenty. When at the Moon's appearance its horns are equally bright, hostile kings will fare well. When the day according to its calculation is long, there will be a reign of long days. The thirtieth day completed Nisan and Tammuz. From Nirgal-iṭir.

No. 37 (*Obv.* 1–3). When at the Moon's appearance in the intercalary month Adar its horns are pointed and dark, the prince will grow strong and the land will have abundance. (*Rev.* 3 *ff.*) When the Moon stands in a fixed position, there will be want of rain. In the intercalary Adar, the Moon was seen with the Sun on the fourteenth day. From Nirgal-iṭir.

No. 38 (*Obv.* 6 *ff.*). When Regulus (*Šarru*) assumes a brilliance, the king of Akkad will effect a completion. From Munnabitu.

Obv. 6. On *Šarru* = Regulus, see Epping and Strassmaier, *Astronomiches*, p. 127.

No. 39 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). Happy welfare to the land, the Moon will smite the foe. The Moon has occulted Mercury. From Nirgal-iṭir.

No. 43. When the Moon at its appearance is full, the king will go to pre-eminence, the land will dwell in security. (At its appearance the Moon was full.) When at the Moon's appearance its right horn is dark in the heavens, there will be a steady market in the land, a revolt will take place in Aḫarrû. ('Its right horn dark in the heavens,' which they explain by 'in heaven is obscured and is not visible.'). At the Moon's appearance its right horn is Aḫarrû. When the Moon appears on the first day it is lucky for Akkad, unlucky for Elam and Aḫarrû. The Moon will be seen without the Sun on the fourteenth day From Nabû-aḫî-iriba.

Obv. 7. ḪI . GAR glossed *bar-ti* here and *bar-tu* in No. 237.

Rev. 4. The scribe evidently explains *dirat* as the perm. fem. from a root of which he thinks DIR (= *ḫalâpu*) a part.

No. 44 (*Rev.* 3 *ff.*). (When) in Nisan on the first day (the Moon) appears and a north wind blows, the king of Akkad will be happy. Mercury at sunset has stood (?) within Kumal; it is lucky for the king my lord; the king of Aḫarrû will be slain with the sword. (The forces of) the king, my lord, in Egypt .... will conquer.

Rev. 6. Kumal is explained in No. 101, rev. 2 ff. ^{mul} *muš-tabarrû—mûtânu kakkab Aḫarrî* ^{ki} | ^{mul} *Dilgan-ša-arki-šu-MUL . MUL* $^{mul\ am}$ *KU . MAL* | ^{mul} *KU . MAL kakkab*

Aḫarri, i.e., Mars = star of Aḫarrû : Dilgan-whose-back-part-is-Mulmul = Kumal : therefore Kumal = star of Aḫarrû.

Dilgan is variously explained by GUD . UD (Mercury), Muštabarrû-mûtânu (Mars), and ŠU . GI, in Brunnow's *List*, No. 51. But it cannot be either Mercury or Mars, for from Rm. 95 (Craig, *Astr. Texts*, 84, 12) 'When its stars *elita ninmudu*,' it is obvious that it is a constellation. (*Cf.* also l. 13 and K. 2329, 91, obv. 5). On ŠÚ . GI, see No. 49.

The true explanation of Dilgan is given on No. 88, rev. 8, *Dilgan = Absin, i.e.*, 'Crops,' 'growth' (Virgo); moreover, it is remarkable that the omen for Dilgan in the Moon's halo forebodes 'no growth of corn.'

Now, as has been shown above, Kumal is Dilgan-whose-back-part-is-Mulmul (two stars or Mars), *i.e.*, probably part of Virgo, while the astrologer is perhaps playing on the double meaning of Mulmul to deduce an omen hostile to the king of Aḫarrû. Kumal, like Dilgan, relates to crops (Craig, *Astr. Texts*, No. 36, obv. 22).

Rev. 9. From this remark we may perhaps put the date of the tablet at 670–660 B.C.

No. 45 (*Obv.* 3–5). When the Moon at its appearance stands in a fixed position, the gods intend the counsel of the land for happiness. (It appeared on the first day.)

Obv. 4. *milku* is the only word given for the simple ideograph (No. 5525 in Brunnow's *List*).

No. 48. When the Moon appears on the first of Kislew, the king of Akkad wherever he goes will ravage the land (or) the king of Akkad wherever his face is set will rule the land. (On the fourteenth day the Moon was seen with the Sun.) There will be an overthrowing of fortresses and downfall of garrisons; there will be obedience and good will in the land. As for the rest, the king (will see?) their good luck. May the king soon hear a happy report and greeting. From Ašaridu.

No. 49. When the Moon rides in a chariot in the month Sililiti, the rule of the king of Akkad will prosper and his hand will overcome the enemy. (The month Sililiti is Sebat.) In Sebat a

halo surrounded (the Moon) in the Pleiades (Šugi). When a halo surrounds the Moon and Aldebaran (*Anna-mir*) stands within it, the king will fare well: there will be truth and justice in the land. From Nabû-ikiši of Borsippa.

Obv. 1. For *Si-li-pu-ut-ti* in the text, read *Si-li-li-ti*.

Obv. 5–6 give an explanation of the phrase 'rides in a chariot,' for Šugi has been explained to mean 'chariot-yoke' (see Brown, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XV, p. 329). Šugi occurs in the following passages;—(*a*) No. 49, where the Moon may be surrounded by a halo in Šugi, (*b*) No. 206, where Šugi may stand in the Moon's halo, (*c*) No. 184, where Mercury is as low down (?) in Taurus as Šugi, (*d*) No. 226, where Mercury rises to the midst of Šugi from the place of Sunset in Nisan (*i.e.*, Aries-Taurus), (*e*) No. 244A, where its 'circle' may be bright, (*f*) Nos. 244 and 246, where it may grow dim (?) over the Moon and enter the Moon. From (*c*) and (*d*) it is evidently near Taurus, from (*a*) (*d*) and (*e*) it is evidently a group, and from (*f*) it is evidently a small group. Now it has been suggested to me that, as Mercury cannot be in Orion (one identification of Šugi), and further that the Moon does not deviate from the ecliptic more than a little over 5°, Šugi is probably the Pleiades. This identification agrees with the facts above. The Pleiades are a small group, 4° from the ecliptic, and the rare word *kurkurru* (No. 244A) might very well be applied to them.

Anu-agû, from the three cases where it occurs, may very well be a single star, and from No. 106 it would appear to be in Taurus, in which case it will be Aldebaran, for which no suitable identification has been suggested.

No. 51. The Moon will complete the day in Nisan. From Nabû-aḫi-ḫriba.

Obv. 1. On the meaning of this text, see Introduction, p. xxi.

No. 52. The Moon will complete the day in Iyyar. The . . day the Moon and Sun will be seen together. The night (?) of the thirteenth, the night of the fourteenth a watch was kept but no eclipse occurred. Seven times I have been raised . . but no eclipse

occurred. I send a sure report to the king, my lord. From Ṭabû-ṣil-Marduk, the nephew of Bîl-naṣir.

Obv. 2. The lacuna is better supplied by 'the fifteenth day' than by 'the thirteenth' as in the transliterations.

No. 53 (*Obv.* 1–4). The Moon completed the day in Adar: on the fourteenth the Moon will be seen with the Sun: the Moon will 'draw back' the day in Nisan and Iyyar.

No. 54. The Moon will complete the day in Sebat. From Nabû-aḫî-íriba.

No. 55 (*Obv.* 4*ff.*) Concerning Mercury, of which the king, my lord, sent me, yesterday Ištar-šuma-íríš in the palace proclaimed its going forth to Nabû-aḫî-íriba. The omens in the festival day came, they have all been observed and seen, they have passed off. From Balasi.

Obv. 8. *igdiri* I, 2 of *ḳarû* 'to call.' The 'going forth' indicates the exit of Mercury from some constellation.

Rev. 3. *iptušu*, *cf.* Syr. *pâš*.

III. When the Moon appears on the Twenty-eighth Day.

No. 57. Of that which to the king, my lord, I sent, the gods shall straightway (?) open his ears .... When the Moon appears on the twenty-eighth day, it is lucky for Akkad, unlucky for Elam. On the twenty-eighth day the Moon .... from the adverse (?) omen....

Rev. 4. It is doubtful whether the gloss should be read [*ul*]-*tú mi-ḫi-ir* or [*il*]-*tam-mi-ḫi-ir*.

No. 58. When the Moon at its appearance appears on the twenty-eighth day as the first day, it is evil for Aḫarrû. When the Moon appears on the twenty-eighth day, it is lucky for Akkad, unlucky for Aḫarrû. From the Chief Physician.

The scribe first wrote the sender's name the wrong way up on the reverse, and afterwards corrected his mistake, writing it again the right way and partly erasing the former.

IV. When the Moon appears on the Thirtieh Day.

No. 59. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold (or) there will be the clamour of the enemy in the land. When at the Moon's appearance it appears high, the enemy will seize upon the land. When the Moon at its appearance is fiercely bright, the month will bring harm. When at the Moon's appearance its horns look at . . . . a flood will come. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant (the greater).

Obv. 2. *Šurubbû* is always explained by *kuṣṣu* in these texts.

No. 60. When the Moon at its appearance is dim and one cannot define (?) it, rain will fall. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold (or) there will be the clamour of the enemy in the land. When the Moon at its appearance appears low, the submission of a distant land will come to the all-powerful king. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant (the greater).

Obv. 1. On *unnut*, see No. 30, note on *ibta'il*.
Obv. 2. *Umandi lit.* 'make great.'

No. 62. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Nisan, Subartu Aḫlamû will devour: a foreign tongue will gain the ascendency in Aḫarrû. (We are Subartu.) When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold in the land. (*Šurubbû* = *kuṣṣu*).

The Moon appeared without the Sun on the fourteenth of Tebet: the Moon completes the day in Sebat. On the fourteenth it appears without the Sun; the Moon completes the day in Adar. On the fourteenth it appears without the Sun; the Moon will complete the day in Nisan. From Nabû-aḫi-íriba.

No. 63. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Iyyar, Aḫarrû Subartu will slay with the sword. From Munnabitu.

No. 64. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Iyyar, the abundance of Aḫarrû Aḫlamû will devour. From Nabû-ikiša, of Borsippa.

No. 64B contains a mention of the Itu' tribe (Obv. 4), and of Mugallu (Obv. 5). Expeditions were undertaken against the Itu' in the years 791, 783, 782, 777, and 769 B.C., but they were evidently loyal and faithful vassals in the seventh century (see Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 388). Mugallu was king of Tabal and, according to Assurbanipal, was a source of trouble to Esarhaddon and Sennacherib. From the mention of this king in a letter about omens, it is obvious that he was regarded as a dangerous enemy by the Assyrians. (See K. 1263, rev. 5–10, and *cf.* Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, *sub voce*.)

No. 66. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Siwân, the abundance of Aḫarrû Aḫlamû will devour. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold, (or) there will be the clamour of the enemy in the land. When the Moon at its appearance appears low, the enemy will seize on the land. When the Moon at its appearance appears low, the submission of a far country will come to the king, (or) a messenger will come. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant.

Obv. 6. It will be observed that the omen of No. 60, rev. 1 ff., does not correspond to this line, but with *ušappil* of rev. 2–4.

No. 67. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Siwan, the abundance of Aḫarrû Aḫlamû will devour. (The Month Siwan =Aḫarrû: it is evil for Aḫarrû). Saturn has not once approached Venus; it has no omen. From Šum-idina.

No. 68 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). When at the Moon's appearance a north wind blows, during that month a flood will come. When at the Sun's zenith a parhelion (?) stands on its right, Ramman will inundate. Mars advanced (*i.e.*, proceeded to its own front) and stood away from Scorpio. To-morrow I will inform the king, my lord. From Balasî.

Rev. 2. *Ana panatuššu illak* is the explanation of the unusual word *uttamiš*. Delitzsch, 92 b, explains inf. *itmušu* as a synonym of *alâku*. See No. 70, rev. 3.

No. 69 (*Obv.* 3–7). When the Moon at its appearance is dark, the land will see plenty; the land will eat plentiful . . . (?). When the Moon at its appearance is dark and its left horn is bent, its right horn being straight, thou wilt overcome (?) the land of the enemy. Ramman will inundate.

Obv. 4. GAN . BA: see also Nos. 34, obv. 3, and 88, obv. 5, and W.A.I. III, 54, 3, 15. *Nap-ša* may be a gloss.

Obv. 5. *kipat*, Syriac *kâph.*

Obv. 7. *tazakip.* See Delitzsch, *sub voce.*

No. 69A (*Obv.* 4–6). When at the Moon's appearance a west wind blows, during that month there will be sickness . . . it is evil for Aḫarrû.

No. 70 (*Obv.* 5*ff.*). When the Moon is fiercely bright, the month will bring harm. Two consecutive months, Iyyar and Siwan, the day has 'turned back.' When a parhelion (?) stands on the right of the Sun, Ramman will inundate, (or) rains and floods will come.

Mars has turned and proceeded (gone straight forward) into Scorpio. It is evil. Later on they shall finish the first part of the matter; I will finish what is going forth to the king; we shall yet see the decisions which will come and remain. From Nabû-aḫî-ṭriba.

No. 72 (*Obv.* 1–2). When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Ab, there will be a devastation of Akkad.

No. 73. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Ab, there will be a devastation of Akkad. Let not the all-powerful king leave me: it is I who daily beg of the king for my hunger; and now to brickwork he has set me, saying, 'make bricks.' Let not the king, my lord, leave me and I shall not die. From Ṭâbia.

No. 74 (*Obv.* 4–6). When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Kislew, the king of Aḫarrû will be slain by the sword.

No. 76 (*Obv.* 1—*rev.* 3). When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Ṭebet, Subartu Aḫlamû will devour; a strange tongue will gain the ascendancy in Aḫarrû. (Ṭebet = Elam.) From

Bulluṭu. On the twenty-ninth day we kept watch, but there was much cloud and we could not see the Moon: on the thirtieth we kept watch and saw the Moon.

Rev. 4. For *matiḫ*, see Delitzsch, *sub voce.*

No. 81 (*Obv.* 3*ff.*). When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Sebat, a total eclipse will happen. From the chief scribe.

Obv. 4. On *atal mâtâti*, see Introduction, p. xxix.

V. Various Omens from the Moon.

No. 82 (*Obv.* 1–10). When the Moon out of its calculation delays and does not appear, there will be the invasion of a powerful city. (On the sixteenth (?) it appeared.) When the Moon does not appear, the gods intend the counsel of the land for happiness. (On the fourteenth and fifteenth god was not seen with god.) When the Moon is not seen with the Sun on the fourteenth or fifteenth of Elul, lions (?) will die and traffic will be hindered. When the light of the Moon and Sun is dark, the king with his land and people will repel the angry. The Moon and Sun will be eclipsed, (or) for some months god will not be seen with god.

Obv. 1. On *iḫḫiramma*, see Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 76.

Rev. 6*ff.* Contain a suggestion to the king that he should not despise the omens afforded by these phenomena, but should avert the evil by making a *nam-bul-bi* ceremony or prayer. L. 7, *išaṭu* probably = Syriac *šâṭ*, 'despise.' NAM . BUL . BI is the heading of a series of incantations (King, *Bab. Magic*, p. 129), and in K. 602 (Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 23) it is put on a par with ŠÚ . IL . LA . KAN . MIŠ and *šiptu*; *i.e.*, 'the prayers of the lifting of the hand' and 'incantations.' As to its more exact meaning, the following passages are instructive: W.A.I. IV, 17, rev. 14, 15, *ilu Šamšu attama mudi riksišunu | muḫallik raggi mupaššir NAM . BUL . BI-i.* BUL = *pašaru* and is used so in S. 1513, obv. 1*ff.* [*NAM*] . *BUL . BI ḪUL ṢÍR . . . . ḪUL-šu BUL-ma ana šarri u bîti-šu NU . TÍ . . , i.e.*, 'The NAM . BUL . BI of the evil of a snake . . . dissipate its evil that it affect not the king nor his house.' *Cf.* also 80–7–19, 36, obv. 3*ff.* *mAkkullanu šû issapra*

mâ ^{d}Šamšu ina napâḫi-šu mâ ibašši Aki II ŠÚ . SI atalî išakan mâ NAM . BUL . BI laššu, *i.e.*, an eclipse of the Sun took place at its zenith extending over two ŠÚ . SI of its surface, but no prayer to avert the evil was made. 81–2–4, 49 (Harper, No. 370), rev. 1 *ff.*, *Ina VII ûmi ŠÚ . IL . LA-i-ni ša ina pân ilâni ^{pl} mušiti ù NAM . BUL . BI . ḪUL kalâmi issiniš innipaš.* 83–1–18, 37 (Harper, No. 355), rev. 12 *ff.*, *NAM . BUL . BI ítapaš mâ ar*(?)*-ni-šu ana ili lultima NAM . BUL . BI lipušu mâ lu-ítiḳ.*

No. 83. When the Moon . . . in its course, Bel will speak to the land. (It has not been explained.) On the thirteenth day it was seen with the Sun. From Bíl-li', son of Ígibi, the magician.

No. 85. When the Moon disappears, evil will befall the land. When the Moon disappears out of its reckoning, an eclipse will take place. (The Moon disappeared on the twenty-fourth day.) When a halo surrounds the Sun on the day of the Moon's disappearance, an eclipse of the left side of the Moon will take place.

In Kislew a watch was kept for the eclipse, the halo surrounding the Sun and the disappearance of the Moon (being the causes of the watch for an eclipse in Kislew) having been observed. May the king, my lord, know, and may he rest happy. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant (the greater).

Obv. 6. On an eclipse of Elam = the left side of the Moon, see Introduction.

No. 86 (*Obv.* 1–5). When the Moon is invisible, but two crescents are seen, there will be hostility in the land. (The Moon has appeared in brightness with the Sun. Alone before the Sun it was brilliant.) The face of the town of Assur the king . . . . (*rev.* 2–10). When Venus goes to the front of Sibzianna, country to country, brother (to) brother will be hostile; there will be a slaughter of men and cattle. When the stars of Sibzianna are brilliant, heaviness will weigh down and evil will be done. From Nírgal íṭir.

Obv. 4. *parig.* *Cf.* Syr. *aphreg* splenduit.

Rev. 3. Sibzianna. It has been suggested that this is Arcturus, Bootes, or Regulus. From No. 86, written for the

month Ab, we are told that 'Venus stands before Sibzianna,' and, 'the stars of Sibzianna are brilliant,' which show that it is a constellation (not a single star), near the Ecliptic, and, consequently, cannot be Arcturus or Regulus. Further, we are told in No. 203 that Sibzianna stands within the halo of 22°. As Arcturus is 30° from the Ecliptic, and the Moon cannot vary more than 5° 8' from the Ecliptic, Sibzianna cannot be Arcturus; and since out of the large constellation of Bootes, only two small stars at most could stand within the halo, it would be assuming too much to say that these stood for the whole of Bootes.

From No. 86, as no planet known to the Assyrians could diverge more than 8° from the Ecliptic, if we give a logical meaning to the words *ina pân*, we may fairly consider that Sibzianna is within 8° of the Ecliptic. Further, from No. 244 B, we learn that (1) Libra, and (2) Sibzianna went before (*ana pân*) the Moon: consequently that which holds good for Libra, which is an Ecliptic constellation, will also hold good for Sibzianna. Again, No. 203, written for Nisan, says that Sibzianna stood within the Moon's halo. Full Moon being then approximately in Libra, we may fairly assume that this took place at some point near the Ecliptic between Leo and Sagittarius. From No. 244 B, quoted above, it is obvious that Sibzianna is in or near Libra, and the only constellation within 8° of the Ecliptic at this point is Libra itself. It would seem, therefore, that Sibzianna is another name for Libra, and it is quite possible that the meaning of Sibzianna, 'Just shepherd of Heaven,' is connected in some way with the 'Balance.'

It is true that in the list of 'Pair-stars' (W.A.I. III, 57, 6), we find Libra mentioned among them as well as the 'Twins-*ina-šid*-Sibzina,' but it may be either because the scribe, in his wish to make a list of seven twins, just as he has made lists of seven *mâšu*, *etc.*, has repeated the same stars under a different name, or more probably 'the pair' of Sibzianna refer to some pair outside Libra altogether—such as Arcturus and Spica.

Rev. 7. *Kabtu ukdappašamma. Cf.* Heb. *kâphâš* in Lam. iii, 16: but the meaning of the phrase is doubtful.

No. 87 (*Obv.* 3–5). When the Moon is full on a cloudy day, the Moon will smite the foe.

No. 88. When the Moon out of its calculated time tarries and is not seen, there will be an invasion of a mighty city. (It was invisible on the fifteenth; on the sixteenth it was seen with the Sun.) When Mars stands opposite a planet, corn will be valuable. When a comet reaches the path of the Sun, *Gan-ba* will be diminished; an uproar will happen twice. These words concern Akkad. (Mars left an interval of four degrees (?) away from Saturn, it did not approach: to . . . it reached. (So) I determine. Without fail (?) let him make a *nam-bul-bi* ceremony for it.) When the Moon appears on the sixteenth, the king of Subarti will grow powerful and will have no rival.

Obv. 9. *pâti* is the *perm.* of *patû*, the root of *upatti* in No. 112, obv. 6, where an elaborate explanation of *patû*, *ṭiḫû* and *ḳarâbu* is given. *upatti* is explained by *itti iḳrib* or la *iṭaḫḫi*. *Cf.* Syr. *p'tha* se dilatavit.

attasḫa. See vocabulary and *cf.* K. 1049, rev. 9, and S. 1368, obv. 12 (Harper, Nos. 38 and 357). The meaning is doubtful.

10. *mînu hiṭṭu*. See vocabulary and *cf.* Harper, No. 356, rev. 3 *ff.*, *ina ḳapsi ikalli ina pân šarri irrab mînu ḫiṭṭu Šumma etc.*: No. 390, rev. 7 *ff.*, *ultu rîši ša šarru iṣbatannini mînu ḫiṭâ ina pân šarri šá šarru bêli išpuranni-mâ*, etc. *Cf.* the use of the Heb. *ḥâṭâ* to miss.

Rev. 4. The latter part of this line is an unusual addition to this omen. It appears to read *ÍDIN. NA gur-ru uṣaḫḫar*, but is uncertain. *Gurru* is the measure for corn, *etc.*, and the whole phrase would seem to imply the diminution of the crops. *Cf.* No. 185, 11, *etc.*

Rev. 10. These three lines are evidently a later addition and show the phenomena which occurred after Balasî had signed his name. L. 12 indicates that the tablet was written at the end of a year.

No. 89, rev. 7, contains the important explanation NIGIN = *la-mu-u*. The mention of Šamaš-šum-ukin (*l.* 11) will fix the approximate date of the tablet. *Mâr šatti*, 'son of a year,' is

perhaps to be compared to the Hebrew idiom. Edge 3, 'oil, honey and spices,' seems to refer to some offerings.

VI. Omens from Halos.

No. 90. To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant Bíl-ušízib (?) May Bel, Nebo and Samas bless the king, my lord. When the Sun stands within the halo of the Moon, in all lands they will speak the truth, the son will speak the truth with his father. (Saturn has stood within the Moon's halo.) When a halo surrounds the Moon and Allul stands within it, the king of Akkad will prolong his life. When a 'river' surrounds the Moon, there will be great inundations and rains. (Allul has stood within the Moon's halo.)

(*Obv.* 10–*Rev* .5 *mutilated*, *Rev* 6 *ff.*). Arad-Gula . . . Bíl-ikiša (?) in my presence I heard . . . this . . . which Mardia heard . . . . the chief: Yadi', the chief, and the chieftainess of all the land of Yakimanu before the general in Van they appointed, and now they say 'the murderer of our lord shall not grow great before us.' Let the lord of kings ask the general (that he may hear the health of the king), how it troubles (?) me: and Mardia, who is chief of the servants of the household of the general, his lord, when I had left, entered under Nérgal-ašarid: the interpreter (?) and the chief officers he brought before Nírgal-ašarid. They entered into agreements and carried away to their homes a talent of silver with them . . . . .

Obv. 3. On the Sun in the Moon's halo = Saturn, and on *tarbaṣu* = halo, see Introduction, p. xxiv.

Obv. 8. *nâru* is probably the corona.

Rev. 13. *igganni*, possibly from *igâ*, 'be weary,' but doubtful.

No. 91. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter (*Umun-pauddu*) stands within it, there will be an invasion of the forces of Aḫarru (or) there will be corn and there will be no blasting; the king of Akkad will see siege. When a 'river' surrounds the Moon, there will be verdure and vegetables (?) in the land. Rain will fall. (A halo surrounded the star . . . .) When Jupiter (*Marduk*) grows very bright, that land will eat abundance. (The star Marduk has taken Mercury to its position and has risen high.) After it on the fourteenth . . . . From Balasí.

No. 92. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) stands within it, the king of Akkad will be besieged. From Nîrgal-îṭir.

No. 94. Last night a halo surrounded the Moon, and Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) and Scorpio stood within it. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) stands within it, the king of Akkad will be besieged. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter (*Nibiru*) stands within it, there will be a slaughter of cattle and beasts of the field. (Marduk is Umunpauddu at its appearance; when it has risen for two (or four?) hours it becomes Sagmîgar; when it stands in the meridian it becomes Nibiru.) When a halo surrounds the Moon and Scorpio stands in it, it will cause men to marry princesses (or) lions will die and the traffic of the land will be hindered. (These are from the series 'When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter stands within it, the king of Aḫarru will exercise might and accomplish the defeat of the land of his foe.' This is unpropitious.) From Nabu-mušîṣi.

Obv. 8. It is uncertain whether one or two *kasbu* is meant.

Rev. 1. *ušṭâḫḫâ* III[II], 1 (like *ušmalli*) from *ṭîḫu*. For this use of the word *cf.* K. 848, obv. 1–5, *Ana ûmu XV[kam] Sin u Šamšu . . . . . un-ni-ni-ia li-ka-a [i]-ḳab-bi ina ûmu(mu) šú-a-tu ûmu(mu) a-na [itu] Šamši i-ḳar-rab a-na SAL . BI TÍ-ḫi (i.e. iṭaḫḫi) SAL . BI UŠ ir-ri*, 'When the Moon and Sun . . . . on the fifteenth day, "Receive my prayer," he shall say: on that day let him approach the Sun by day; let him draw near his wife, his wife shall conceive a man-child.' Boissier, *Documents* I, 2, p. 93, K. 1994, obv. 16, *Ana NA Ana SAL TÍ.*

No. 95. (*Obv.* 1–4). When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter stands within it, the king will be besieged. (Its halo was not joined (*i.e.* was interrupted): it does not point to evil.)

(*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). The omen is adverse but will be in heaven for good luck. When Sar-ur and Sargaz, of the Scorpion's sting, are brilliant, the weapons of Akkad will come. From Nabu-šuma-iškun.

Obv. 5. A . ÍDIN. W.A.I. V, 46 1, 46 = *banat riḫutum.* From No. 153 it would appear to be a star of Virgo.

Rev. 3. *Sar-ur and Sar-gaz* are therefore *lambda* and *upsilon* of the Scorpion. See also Brown, P.S.B.A, 1890, p. 201.

No. 96. The night of the . . . day Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) stood within the halo of the Moon. Let them make a *nambulbi* ceremony. The halo was open on one side. From Nabû-aḫî-iriba.

Obv. 1. Further examination of the text showed that what had first been read "I" was an unintentional mark on the tablet. There are two deep scratches or indentations at this point in the line, which have obliterated the original character. "I" would, of course, be an impossibility.

No. 97. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Regulus stands within it, women will bear male children. From Nîrgal-îṭir.

No. 98 (*Obv.* 1–8). When a dark halo surrounds the Moon, the month will bring rain (or) will gather clouds. (Saturn stood within the Moon's halo.) When a halo surrounds the Moon and Mars stands within it, there will be a destruction of cattle; Aḫarrû will be diminished. (It is evil for Aḫarrû.)

No. 99 (*Obv.* 10 *ff.*). When a halo surrounds the Moon and Mars stands within it, there will be a destruction of cattle in all lands; the planting of dates will not prosper (or) Aḫarrû will be diminished. When a halo surrounds the Moon and two stars stand within it, there will be a long reign. When Mars and a planet stand facing one another, there will be an invasion of Elam. When Mars . . . . goes forth, the king of Elam will die. From Bamâi (?).

Rev. 1. Variants (*e.g.*, No. 101, obv. 1) give 'planting and dates.'

No. 100 (*Obv.* 1–4). When a halo surrounds the Moon and Saturn stands within it, they will speak the truth in the land: the son will speak the truth with his father. Welfare of multitudes.

Obv. 1. See No. 90 on Saturn.

No. 101 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). When a halo surrounds the Moon and a planet stands within it, the king his troops will be besieged. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Dilgan-after-which-is-Mulmul stands within it, the herds of the land will prosper. (Mars is the star of

Aḫarrû, Dilgan-after-which-is-Mulmul is Kumal: Kumal is the star of Aḫarrû). From Irašši-ilu.

Rev. 2. On this see No. 44.

No. 103 (*Obv.* 6 *ff.*). When a halo surrounds the Moon and a planet stands within it, robbers will rage. (Saturn stood within the halo of the Moon.) When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) draws near to Taurus, the good fortune of the land passes away (or) the generation of cattle and sheep is not prosperous. (Jupiter has entered Taurus: let the king, my lord, keep himself from the storm-wind.) When Mars (*Apin*) reaches the path of the Sun, there will be a famine of cattle, there will be want. (Mars reached Saturn.) When a planet and Mars stand facing one another, there will be an invasion of the enemy. When Mars (*Lul-a*), its rising is dark . . . its light like . . .

Rev. 4. Saturn being the star of the Sun, Mercury is said to have reached the path of the Sun when it draws near Saturn. In the three cases in these texts where *Apin* occurs, it is followed by an explanatory note which shows that *Apin* = *Muštabarrû-mûtânu* (No. 239, 1, 6: No. 272, *r* 1, 3). *Cf.* W.A.I., V, 46, 1, 1, ^{mul} APIN = ^{ilu} Anu = Mars (Epping and Strassmaier, *Astron.*, p. 173), and the list K 4195, Col. III, IV, where among the names for Mars Apin occurs.

No. 106. When a halo surrounds the Moon and *Anu-agû* stands within it, there will be . . . in the land. (Taurus stood within the halo of the Moon: for two days, an omen of evil, it has stood within the halo of the Moon.) From Nabû-aḫî-îriba.

No. 107 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). When a halo surrounds the Moon and Mars (*Sudun*) stands within it, a king will die and his land be diminished; the king of Elam will die. (*Sudun* = Mars; Mars is the star of Aḫarrû; it is evil for Aḫarrû and Elam; Saturn is the star of Akkad (?); it is lucky for the king, my lord.) On the fourteenth the Moon was seen with the Sun: let the king, my lord, rest happy. From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant.

No. 108 (*Obv.* 6 *ff.*). The omen changes not. Now I send the royal observation to the king, my lord. From Zakir.

No. 110. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Cancer (Allul) stands within it, the king of Akkad will prolong life: showers will fall. May Assur, Samas, Nebo, and Merodach, life to life (?) for long days to the king, my lord, give. From Nabû-iḳbi.

No. 111 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). When a halo surrounds the Moon and a north wind blows, the exalted gods . . . bring (?) . . . When a halo surrounds the Moon and it is thin, there will be a giving of years to the king.

Obv. 8. *idlul*, Heb. *dâlâl*, *dal.*

No. 112 (*Obv.* 3–*Rev.* 11). Last night a halo surrounded the Moon: it was interrupted. When a *usurtu* surrounds the Moon, there will be an eclipse. (An eclipse is a disturbance.) Last night a *usurtu* surrounded the Moon; it was interrupted.

When Venus draws near Scorpio, evil winds will come to the land; Ramman will give his rains, Ea his channels to Gutî. When 'it draws near' (*ṭiḫû*) to the 'Breast of Scorpio' (so it has been determined) it does not 'approach' (*ḳarâbu*). *ipatti* = *itti iḳrib.*

The planets are those whose stars pass on their own road over themselves.

When *A-îdin* reaches Mars, Ramman will inundate. Mars has drawn near (?) to *Nun-šamî.* Rain has not come yet (?).

No. 114 (*Obv.* 1–3). Last night a halo surrounded the Moon and Gemini stood within it.

No. 117. When the greater halo surrounds the Moon, that land will be enlarged, destructions will surround men. When it surrounds and Cancer (*Allul*) stands within it, the king of Akkad will prolong life. When Regulus stands within it, women will bear male children. When the greater halo surrounds the Moon and is thin, there will be a giving of years to the king. (A great halo has surrounded it and has remained for many nights and is uninterrupted.) From Šapiku, of Borsippa.

Obv. 1. On *supuru* see Introduction.

VII. When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another.

(A) *On the Twelfth Day.*

No. 119 (*Obv.* 1–7). When the Moon appears out of its expected time, the market will be low. (It was seen with the Sun on the twelfth.) When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another out of their expected time, a strong enemy will overcome the land: the king of Akkad will accomplish the defeat of his foe.

(B) *On the Thirteenth Day.*

No. 120. When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the thirteenth day, there will not be silence: there will be unsuccessful traffic in the land: the enemy will seize on the land. From Aplâ.

No. 123 (*Obv.* 4 *ff.*). When a north wind prevails and blows, prosperity will come to all fruit trees. The Igigi gods will be at peace with the land: the land will see abundance. (*Iṣi rikipti* = garden fruit of all kinds.) This year dates and grapes (?) will prosper. The Moon appeared on the thirtieth of Tisri: from to-day as far back as Elul, which has passed, on the thirteenth day the Moon has not been seen with the Sun. When the Sun reaches the zenith and the sky is dark, years of prosperity, the king will grow strong. From Nírgal-íṭir, son of Gašuzu (?)-Tutu.

Obv. 4. *sadrat.* This word is used twice of the wind, several times of storms (*imbaru*) and also in connection with earthquakes.

Rev. 2. *balat.* Heb. *bâlâ.*

Rev. 4. *isimu.* Probably the verb from which *sâmu* 'dark comes.

(C) *On the Fourteenth Day.*

No. 124. When the Moon reaches the Sun and with it fades out of sight, its horns being dim, there will be truth in the land, and the son will speak the truth with his father. (On the four-

teenth the Moon was seen with the Sun.) When the Moon and the Sun are invisible, the king will increase wisdom; the king of the land, the foundation of his throne will be secure. (On the fourteenth day the Moon was seen with the Sun.) When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the fourteenth, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied; the gods intend Akkad for happiness. Joy in the heart of the people. The cattle of Akkad will lie down securely in the pasture-places. When a dark halo surrounds the Moon, it gathers clouds, that month will bring rain. When its horns are dim, a flood will come. (On the fourteenth the Moon was seen with the Sun.)

About the people concerning whom I sent to the king, my lord, the king does not say 'Why?' but has said 'let them bring them hither.' Now the king knows I hold no land in Assyria: I, what is my family to them, or what my life? Who is my god, who is my lord, to whom and how are my eyes turned? Now let my lord king, for whose life I pray Samas, send it unto Aḫišâ, by royal authority, and let his messenger bring the people: let the governor of Babylon cause him to leave. Let Nabu-íṭir-napšâti, my son, the king's servant, come, that with me he may visit (?) the king.

On the explanation of *šutatu*, see Introduction, p. xxvi, and on *ittintu*, see No. 30.

Rev. 5. *Cf.* 1 Sam. xviii, 18, 'who am I, or who my clan' (or 'life').

Rev. 7. *alla:* see Peiser, *Bab. Verträge*, p. 230, and *cf. allu*, Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 72.

Nos. 125–129 are very similar. No. 130, obv. 3, contains an unusual addition to the omen for the invisibility of the Moon and Sun, 'Mercy and peace will befall the king.' No. 136B is dated in the eponymy of Labasi, the fourteenth of Tisri (B.C. 655).

No. 137 (*Rev.* 1–4). When at the Moon's appearance a south wind blows, there will be a slaughter of Aḫarrû. When a parhelion (?) stands on the left of the Sun and .... (?), anarchy the king of Aḫarrû to ... will take him.

No. 139 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). The rest of the matter is lucky for the king, my lord. The Moon went into clouds so that we could not

see it. When the Moon at its appearance goes into clouds, a flood will come (*Nikilpû* = *alaku*). When at the Moon's appearance heaven pours down, rain will rain. In rain-clouds it appeared. From Nabu-aḫî-îriba.

Obv. 5. *riḫti dibbi.* See Delitzsch, p. 618B, and *cf.* Harper, Nos. 342, edge 21, and 57, obv. 10.

No. 140. When the Moon does not wait for the Sun and disappears, there will be a raging of lions and wolves. It was seen with the Sun on the (fifteenth). When the Moon appears out of its time, there will be an overwhelming of (cities ?). On the fifteenth it was seen with the Sun: afterwards in Tisri the Moon will complete the day. From Balasî.

No. 141 (*Rev.* 5–6). When at the Moon's appearance a south wind blows, in that month a south wind will prevail.

No. 144 (*Obv.* 1–3). On the fourteenth the Moon and Sun were seen with one anothet. Last night a halo surrounded the Moon, Saturn stood within it near the Moon.

Obv. 3. *Cf.* the omen in rev. 1–2, 'When the Sun stands within the Moon's halo,' and for an explanation see Introduction.

No. 145 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). When Jupiter becomes bright, the weapons of the king of Akkad will prevail over those of his foe. Regulus stands either on the right or left of Jupiter. Now it has stood three .... on the left of Jupiter. From Rimutu.

No. 146 (*Rev.* 1–6). When Mercury disappears at sunset it will rain as it disappears. Mars has assumed a brilliance: Lubad-dir is for prosperity of people: Lubad-dir (means) that corpses are angry (?): Lubad-dir is Mars. From Nîrgal-îṭir.

No. 147 (*Rev.* 4 *ff.*), *and* **No. 148** (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). When (the omen) portends a reign of long days for the well-being of the all-powerful king and his people, the Moon at its proper time is invisible with the Sun, rivalling its position.

Compare the omens for the Moon's appearance on the first day together with the day in its proper length, which are so frequently found on the same tablet. *Uštatâ* is the pres. III, 2 of *atâ*, whence also *šutatâ*.

No. 151 (*Obv.* 3–6). On the fourteenth for some months, god has appeared with god, namely Tisri, Marcheswan, and Kislew, three consecutive months (for happiness and long life to the king, my lord) they have been seen. (*Rev.* 2 *ff.*) When Scorpio is dark in the centre, then will be obedience. (This is when a 'covering (?)' reaches the Moon and Mercury.) In Kislew, the fifteenth day a man should consecrate to Nirgal, he should raise a willow (?)-branch in his hand; he will be safe in his journeys or travels: the sixteenth day, the seventeenth day he should sacrifice an ox before Nebo, an ox should be smitten in the presence of Nebo; the eighteenth day the god (?) should be apparelled, the night of the nineteenth a censer. From Nabû-šuma-iškun.

Rev. 4. The last two characters u-da should be *liš-kin*: I did not find a variant to correct my text by until too late.

No. 152 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). They shall bring in that tablet of the Day of Bel which we have written, for the king, my lord, to see, and they shall give us the Akkadian tablet of the king. They shall enclose three "stars" therein on the front, and shall direct the officer that whoever opens the document shall close it in his presence.

Rev. 2. A particular scribe was appointed for the day of Bel: *cf.* No. 160, rev. 5, and 81-2-4, 98, obv. 11 *ff.*, *ultu ^{em}A . BA ûm ^{u}ÍN : LIL gabbu imaḫḫaru uširrubu.*

Rev. 4. On the 'Akkadian tablet,' *cf.* King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. xxv, note.

No. 153 (*Obv.* 7 *ff.*). When the Moon stops in its course, the market will be low. On the fifteenth it was seen with the Sun. Last night a halo surrounded the Moon and Virgo (*Absin*) and Spica (*A-idin*) stood within it. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Spica (Pan) stands within it, brigands will be rampant and there will be much robbery in the land. When a 'river' surrounds

the Moon, there will be great rains and showers. A-ídin stood within the halo of the Moon. From Nabû-ikiša, of Borsippa.

Rev. 2. A-ídin, from the above would appear to be a single star of Virgo. It is therefore probably Spica, which is the most conspicuous star of the group. Pan here evidently explains A-ídin, as also in No. 118, where there is no other star for it to refer to, and it is probably another name for Spica.

No. 154 (*Obv.* 1–2). On the first day I sent to the king thus: 'On the fourteenth the Moon will be seen with the Sun.' (*Rev.* 6.) On the fourteenth the Moon was seen with the Sun.

No. 155 (*Rev.* 1 *ff.*). The king, my lord, has not asked 'How did the clouds appear?' Last night its going forth which I saw during the day—half came forth; it went as far as the 'ground' in the middle. There is an omen from the sight for the . . . when the king sees a clear day, for two-thirds of a *kasbu* (80 minutes) of the day it will stand with the Sun. From Nabû-ikiša, of Borsippa.

Rev. 4. *iṣu.* Cf. *iṣi iriḫi* 'half the diameter' (Oppert, JA. xvi, 513, quoted Muss. Arnolt, *Dict.*, 86, a), and *iṣu* 'small.'
Rev. 7. The characters destroyed may be *um kî.*
Rev. 8. Probably read *šarru im-ru siniṗ kasbu ûmu.*

(D) *On the Fifteenth Day.*

No. 156 (*Obv.* 1–3). When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the fifteenth day, a powerful enemy will raise his weapons against the land. The enemy will destroy the gate of my city.

Obv. 3. *Âli-ia* 'my city' occurs elsewhere. (*Cf.* Nos. 162, 163, *ia*, No. 158, MU.) The magicians are at variance as to the precise formula, for we find 'the enemy will destroy the shrines of the great gods' (No. 157), or 'the city gates' (No. 159).

No. 158. The reverse is too mutilated to make connected sense, but it seems that the writer is apologising for not having sent the

usual despatch, 'for that he has been sick and there was no interpreter of omens.' He concludes with the conventional 'let not the king leave me, and I shall not die.'

No. 162 (*Rev.* 2*ff.*). When Jupiter goes with Venus, the prayer of the land will reach the heart of the gods. Merodach and Ṣarpanitum will hear the prayer of thy people and will have mercy on thy people.

Let them send me an ass that it may ease my feet. From Nírgal-íṭir.

Rev. 7. The character which I read *šipâ*^{II} is written *lam* in the text. If LAM (= *šíptu*) be translated 'sorcery' it gives no sense.

No. 163 (*Obv.* 4*ff.*). When Mercury (or a planet) . . . appears, there will be corpses. When Cancer (*Allul*) is dark, a destructive demon will seize on the land and there will be corpses. From Nabû-aḫḫ-iddina.

No. 164 (*Rev.* 1–8). When the brilliance of a star shines from east to west, want (?) will overcome the foe, ... will seize upon the land. Iyyar, Siwan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul—these five months on the fourteenth day the Moon has not been seen with the Sun. May the king, my lord, know and give heed.

No. 165 (*Obv.* 5–6). When Anna becomes bright, the foe will make havoc.

Obv. 5. Brunnow's *List*, No. 145, gives ^{mul} AN . NA = ^{lu} Sin, *i.e.*, the Moon. But AN . NA also = Anu, and therefore probably Mars: see No. 103.

Obv. 6. *nami-A iḫammiṣ*, *lit.* 'dash (to) ruins.'

(E) *On the Sixteenth Day.*

No. 166. When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the sixteenth day, king to king will send hostility. The king will be besieged in his palace for the space of a month. The feet of the

enemy will be against the land; the enemy will march triumphantly in his land. When the Moon on the fourteenth or fifteenth of Tammuz is not seen with the Sun, the king will be besieged in his palace. When it is seen on the sixteenth day, it is lucky for Subartu, evil for Akkad and Aḫarrû. From Aḳkullanu.

No. 167 (*Rev.* 7 *ff.*). When Mars, (the star of ?) Subartu grows bright and assumes a brilliance, it is lucky for Subartu. And when Saturn, the star of Aḫarrû, grows dim and its brilliance is smitten, it is evil for Aḫarrû: there will be a hostile attack on Aḫarrû. From Šapiku, of Borsippa.

No. 168 (*Obv.* 1–5). When the Moon on the fourteenth or fifteenth of Nisan is not seen with the Sun, the troops the expedition of the foe . . . . . it will be plundered and the land . . . . : there will be a revolt in the land.

No. 170 (*Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 6). When the Moon on the fourteenth or fifteenth of Sebat is not seen with the Sun, a copious flood will come and the crops will be diminished. The *Abḳallu šiḳla* '*Bíl-riminû-uḳarrad-Marduk*' stopped last night: in the morning it shall be explained. O King! thou art the image of Marduk, when thou art angry, to thy servants! When we draw near the king, our lord, we shall see his peace!

Obv. 4. What *Abḳallu Šiḳla* means it is difficult to say. *Abḳallu* = 'ruler, mighty one,' while *šiḳla* might be referred to the root *š-ḳ-l* 'to weigh, balance.' It appears to be some instrument called 'Bíl-riminû-uḳarrad-Marduk' (*cf.* the wall of Babylon 'Imgur-Bíl'), which stopped in the night. It may have been some kind of clock.

No. 171 (*Obv.* 4–5). When the Moon on the fourteenth of Adar is not seen with the Sun, there will be a devastation of Ur.

No. 172 (*Rev.* 3–6). When a planet changes the stars of heaven, the king of countries will make an end. (Mercury has grown bright and (thereby) changed the stars.)

VIII.—Omens from the Sun.

No. 173. When a halo surrounds the Sun, rain will fall. (The Suns are days.) From Iraššī-ilu.

Obv. 2. See note on No. 1, obv. 4.

No. 174 (*Obv.* 5–6). When a halo surrounds the Moon and the Sun in the East stands in it, the troops will fight a strange land.

No. 175. When the Sun enters the Moon, all lands (?) will speak the truth. Welfare of all the world. When a planet (?) changes colour opposite the Moon and enters the Moon, lions will die and the traffic of the land (will be hindered) (or) cattle will be slain. (Saturn has entered the Moon.) From Aššur-šarani.

Obv. 4. The changing colour probably refers to the apparent dimming of a star near the Moon.

No. 176. When the Sun stands in the place of the Moon, the king of the land will be secure on his throne. When the Sun stands above or below the Moon, the foundation of the throne will be secure; the king will stand in his justice. When the Sun and Moon are invisible, the king of the land will increase wisdom. (Last night Saturn drew near to the Moon. Saturn is the star of the Sun. This is its interpretation; it is lucky for the king. The Sun is the king's star.)

No. 177. When the Sun stands above the Moon (or) below the Moon, the foundation of the king's throne will be secure. When the Sun stands in the place of the Moon, there will be justice in the land. From Nabû-iḳbi.

No. 178. When the Sun reaches its zenith and goes forward, the reign of the All-powerful king will be long. When a halo surrounds the Sun in the morning in Adar, in that month a flood will come, (or) heaven will rain. (It is connected with the omen for Jupiter: the rest of the matter is that its omen is for rain and flood.)

Obv. 1. On *napâḫu*, see Oppert, *Zeits.*, I, 1886, p. 218.

No. 179 (*Obv.* 1–5). When a halo surrounds the Sun, and its opening points to the south, a south wind will blow. When a south wind blows on the day of the Moon's disappearance, heaven will rain (?).

No. 180 (*Obv.* 5 *ff*). Saturn stood within the halo of the Moon, and was opposite. This is the omen for the thirteenth day instead of 'the Moon was seen on the thirteenth day.' (Put) instead of this 'Saturn stood within the halo of the Moon.' When a dark halo surrounds the Moon, the month will bring rain (or) will collect clouds. When Regulus is dark, the king will grow angry and his rule . . . . he will turn and will not slay, he will have . . . (Saturn before Regulus . . . .). From Nabû . . .

No. 181. When the Sun reaches its zenith and is dark, the unrighteousness of that land will come to nought. When the Sun reaches its zenith and is dark, prosperity of people (or) there will be war in the land, (or) revolt (or) disasters to the king of all lands. When the Sun is dark with a dark light at its zenith, an eclipse happens and Ramman will inundate. (During the morning watch for Elam at the Sun's zenith this happened.) When it thunders in Iyyar, wheat and vegetables will not be prosperous. (The star of which I told the king, my lord, is very dim; it does not remain constant (?), it does not clear.) From Zakir.

Obv. 3. *uddâti* perhaps Heb. *êd* 'calamity.'

Rev. 5. *atinnu* doubtful. Perhaps we may compare the Heb. *êthân.*

Rev. 6. *umassi; masû*, II, 1 = 'purify.'

No. 182. When a parhelion (?) stands in the path of the Sun, the gods will take counsel for the good of the land. When four parhelia (?) stand, there will be destruction of oxen and wild beasts. When a parhelion (?) goes forth at the Sun's zenith, rain and flood will come. When the Sun reaches its zenith, in its path a parhelion (?) stands, the willow trees of the land will be thrown down (?). From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant, the greater.

No. 183. When a bright star appears in the ecliptic (?), there will be a slaughter of Elam with the sword. When the Sun reaches

its zenith in a parhelion (?), the king will grow angry and raise the sword. (*Explanation of ideograph.*) Jupiter has stood for a month over its reckoned time. When Jupiter passes to sunset, the land will dwell peacefully. Jupiter has stood for a month over its reckoned time. Marcheswan is the month of the king, my lord.

(*Rev.* 5 *ff.*). The handmaiden of the king, my lord, has gone (?) to Akkad; I cannot tarry, [for] she has run away; let the king, my lord, [send and] fetch her and give her to me. From Bil-li', son of Ígibi, the magician.

Rev. 6. There are slight traces of characters at the end of this line.

IX.—Omens from Stars.

No. 184 (*Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 3). When Jupiter appears at the beginning of the year, in that year its corn will be prosperous. (Mercury has appeared in Nisan.) When a planet (or Mercury) approaches Lí, the king of Elam will die. When Mars (*Šanumma*) approaches Aries, the people will be widespreading, the land will be satisfied. Mercury appeared in Taurus; it had come down (?) as far as the Pleiades (*Šugi*).

Obv. 6. On ÍN . MÍ . SAR . RA = Aries, see Jensen. *Kosm.*, p. 61.

No. 185. When Jupiter stands fast in the morning, hostile kings will be fortunate . . . in Siwan, brought near, where the Sun shone, it stood; in the brightening of its brilliance it was darkened; its zenith was complete as the zenith of the Sun; angry gods will be favourable with Akkad, there will be copious rains, plentiful floods in Akkad; corn and sesame will be plentiful and the price of one *ḳa*-measure of corn will be given for one *gur*. The gods in heaven will stand in their places, their shrines will be overflowing. (When) *Gam* assumes a brilliance, the foundation of the throne will be secure. When Regulus assumes a brilliance, the king of Akkad will effect completion. When Jupiter appears in the ecliptic, there will be a flood and the crops of the land will prosper. From Bamaí.

Obv. 1. *Širti.* *Cf.* Delitzsch, p. 635, b., under *ši'âru.*

Obv. 11. 1 GUR=300 ḲA. Meissner, *Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, p. 101.

Rev. 1. ^{mul}GAM. W.A.I. V, 46, 1, 3, ^{mul}*GAM = kakku ša ḳatâ ^{ilu}Marduk.* There is an interesting astrological letter (K. 7655) which mentions this omen (obv. 13).

No. 186 (*Obv.* 5*ff.*). When Jupiter grows bright, the king of Akkad will go to pre-eminence. When Jupiter (*Ḫngišgalanna*) grows bright, there will be floods and rains. (*Ḫngišgalanna = Sagmîgar.*) When Jupiter appears in Iyyar, the land .... When Jupiter (*Nibiru*) culminates, the gods will give peace, troubles will be cleared up, and complications will be unravelled. Rains and floods will come; the amount of crops, with regard to the cold, will be out of all proportions to the amount of cold on the crops. The lands will dwell securely. Hostile kings will be at peace, the gods will receive prayers and hear supplications; the omens of the magician shall be made apparent. From Nírgal-íṭir.

Rev. 3. *išâtum—dalḫâtum*, Delitzsch, p. 143, b.

Rev. 9–10. See Delitzsch, *apâlu*, 113, a.

No. 187 (*Obv.* 1–6). When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) passes to the place of sunset, there will be a dwelling securely, kindly peace will descend on the land. (It appeared in front of Allul.) When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) assumes a brilliance in the tropic of Cancer and (becomes?) *Nibiru*, Akkad will overflow with plenty, the king of Akkad will grow powerful. (*Rev.* 5*ff.*) When a great star like fire rises from sunrise and disappears at sunset, the troops of the enemy in battle (or) the troops of the enemy in slaughter will be slain. At the beginning of thy reign Jupiter was seen in its right position; may the lord of gods make thee happy and lengthen thy days! From Ašaridu, the son of Damḳa.

No. 188 (*Obv.* 9*ff.*). Now what I have seen I send to the king, my lord. The omens such as ... to Allul it drew near. A second report I have determined, to the king my lord, I have sent.

No. 189 (*Obv.* 1–2). When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) appears in Elul the land will eat good food.

No. 190. When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) appears in Marcheswan, king to king will send hostility. When Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*) stands in the 'Brilliance of Pabilsag,' there will be destructions in the land. When the same star approaches *Indubanna*, the market will go up. (*Indubanna* is the 'Brilliance of Pabilsag.') From Nabû-šuma-iškun.

Obv. 3. On 'Pabilsag' = the sting of Scorpio, see No. 236 G, and Sagittarius, Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 496.

No. 192. When the Moon occults Jupiter (*Sagmîgar*), that year a king will die (or) an eclipse of the Moon and Sun will take place. A great king will die. When Jupiter enters the midst of the Moon, there will be want in Aḫarrû. The king of Elam will be slain with the sword: in Subarti . . (?) will revolt. When Jupiter enters the midst of the Moon, the market of the land will be low. When Jupiter goes out from behind the Moon, there will be hostility in the land.

Obv. 7. ḪI . GAR . , No. 193, gives the variant *i-ba-ru* (obv. 3).

No. 193 (*Obv.* 4–5). When the Moon darkens Jupiter, the king of kings, his hand will overpower his enemies.

No. 194 (*Obv.* 1–3). When Jupiter passes to the right of Venus, a strong one will conquer Gutî with the sword.

No. 195. When Jupiter stands in front of Mars, there will be corn and men will be slain, (or) a great army will be slain. When Jupiter and Mars . . . the god will devour (or) rains will be given upon the land. (*Uštaddanu šutadunu* resolved?) When Mars approaches Jupiter, there will be a great devastation in the land. When Jupiter and a planet, their stars face, evil will befall the land. When Mars (*Lubad-dir*) and Jupiter (*Rabû*) approach, there will be a slaughter of cattle. (*Lubad-dir* is Mars, *Rabû* is Jupiter.) Mars has approached Jupiter. When Mars (*Šanamma*) approaches Jupiter, in that year the king of Akkad will die and the crops of that land will be prosperous.

This omen is evil for the lands; let the king, my lord, make a *Nambulbi*-ceremony to avert the evil. From Nabû-ikiša of Borsippa.

Obv. 3. On *Sarri*, see III R. 57, 62a.

Obv. 5. *mitluk*, perm. I, 2 of *malâku*. The Ethpe'el of the corresponding Syriac root has the meaning of *deliberavit;* the Assyrian word is perhaps used as a grammatical term.

No. 197. When Regulus approaches in front of the Moon and stands, the king will live many days; the land will not be prosperous. From Aplâ.

No. 199 (*Obv.* 1–2). The omen which is unlucky for the king is good for the land: the omen which is good for the land is unlucky for the king.

No. 200. When a star shines and its brilliance is as bright as the light of day, in its shining it takes a tail like a scorpion, it is a fortunate omen, not for the master of the house, but for the whole land. When there is *binnu* in all lands, violence will pass away, there will be justice, abundance will be plentifully produced; ruin for the master of that house (or) that king will stand in his justice. There will be obedience and good-will in the land. (This is from ....) When a great star (Jupiter?) shines from north to south, and its brilliance [it takes a tail like a scorpion?] ..... This is according to the tablet (that tells) that Nebuchadnezzar brought Elam to ruin. When Mercury appears in Tammuz, there will be corpses. When *Ištîna-maššig mulluḫ* at its rising, prosperity of crops, the market will be steady. This concerns Mercury. From Nabû-mušíṣi.

Obv. 4. *binnu*, see Delitzsch, 180, b.

Rev. 5. For this campaign of Nebuchadnezzar I, *c.* 1140 B.C., see KT. III 1, 164, and *cf.* obv. 3 with col. I, l. 25, *Ritti-Marduk bîl bîti ša Bît-Karziyabku.*

7. *Ištînamaššig*, see Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 54.

No. 201. After two hours of the night had passed, a great star shone from north to south. Its omens are propitious for the king's desire. The king of Akkad will accomplish his mission. From Ašaridu (the greater), the king's servant.

No. 202. When a great star shines from east to west and disappears and dulls (?) its brilliance, the army of the enemy will be destroyed in battle. When a star like a light (or) like a torch shine, from east to west and disappears, the army of the enemy will be slain in its onslaught. Two great stars were observed one after the other in the middle watch. From Ašaridu (the greater).

No. 203. When Venus disappears at sunrise in Nisan from the first to the thirtieth day, there will be desolation. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Sibzianna stands within it, the king of Subarti will work mightily, his land will have abundance. (Sibzianna stood within the Moon's halo . . .) From Aḫiša of Erech.

Obv. 3. *urubati*, according to 205, r 1 = *bikâti* 'weepings.' *cf.* also K 4166. *Obv.* 3, *ú-ru-ba-tú* | *bi-ka-tú*.

No. 204 (*Obv.* 4–6). When Venus changes . . . . (There will be) a hostile expedition: insurrection (or) treason.

Obv. 6. *ḳašrâti*, Heb. *ḳešer*.

No. 205 (*Obv.* 1–4). Venus is now disappearing at sunrise. When Venus is brilliant, it is not good for those days which are no the full length and which are too long.

Obv. 3. On *umi ša la ušallimu*, see Introduction.

No. 205A (*Obv.* 3). When Spica (*A-ḫdin*) reaches Mars (*Mulmul*), it will rain.

No. 206 (*Obv.* 5–8). When Venus fixes its position, the days of the prince will be long, there will be justice in the land. Venus in the Tropic of Capricorn . . . (*Rev.* 4–6.) When a halo surrounds the Moon and the Pleiades (Sugi) stand within it, in that year there will be a slaughter of men: sheep will not approach oxen.

No. 207. Venus is appearing at sunset in the Tropic of Cancer: this is its interpretation. When Venus appears in Siwan, there will be a slaughter of the enemy. When Venus appears in the Tropic of Cancer, the king of Akkad will have no rival. Five or six days ago it reached Allul. This is its interpretation. When Venus (*Uza*) approaches Allul, there will be obedience and welfare in the

land: the gods will have mercy on the land. Empty . . (?) will be full and the crops of the land will prosper; the sick in the land will recover. Pregnant women will perfect their offspring. The great gods will show favour to the sanctuaries of the land, the houses of the great gods will be renewed. (*Uza* = Venus.) From Šumaï.

Rev. 3. *iššikku.* See Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, *sub voce.*

No. 208. Venus is now disappearing at sunset. When Venus grows dim and disappears in Ab, there will be a slaughter of Elam. When Venus appears in Ab from the first to the thirtieth day, there will be rains, the crops of the land will be prosperous. (In the middle of this month Venus appeared in Leo at sunrise.) From Nírgal-íṭir.

Obv. 3. *uštaktit* perhaps = become frightened. See Del., 363 b.

No. 209 (*Obv.* 1–5). When Sarur and Sargaz of the tail of Scorpio are brilliant, the weapons of Akkad will make an onslaught. (Venus has appeared in Pabilsag.) When Venus (Ištar) puts on the diadem of the Moon divided, there will be desolations.

Obv. 4. *muniksisa* √*kasâsu.* Rev. 1 '(when) Venus (puts on) a dark crown' perhaps indicates that the New Moon occults her.

No. 210. When Venus in Kislew from the first to the thirtieth day disappears at sunrise, there will be famine of corn and straw in the land. The lord of kings has spoken thus, 'Why hast thou not [observed?] the month, and sent the lucky and unlucky?' The prince of the kingdom has been neglected, has not been obeyed. May the lord of kings when his face is favourable lift up my head that I may make my decisions and tell the king, my lord. From Ašaridu.

Obv. 7. *inaṭiš* perhaps Heb. *naṭaš*, but by no means certain.

No. 211 (*Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 2). When Venus appears in Sebat, the crops of the land will prosper: . . . will be prosperous: mercy and welfare will be in the land. Venus stood in the midst of Anunitum. When Venus appears in Virgo, rains in heaven, floods on (earth), the crops of Aḫarrû will prosper; fallen ruins will be inhabited.

No. 213 (*Obv.* 1–5). When Scorpio approaches the front of the Moon and stands, the reign of the king will be long; the enemy will come, but his defeat will be accomplished.

No. 215 (*Obv.* 4, *ff*). The Breast of Scorpio which stood on the right horn of the Moon has not approached the Sun (?): nothing changes. When Scorpio stands within the Moon's halo, it is for rains and floods. (The king shall see its omen; it will rain.) When in Iyyar the fifteenth day to Ía . . . , in the evening watch he will turn his peace into glory. From Nabû-šuma-iškun.

No. 216. Saturn has appeared in Leo. When Leo is obscured, for three years lions and jackals . . . and kill men. The traffic of the land (Aḫarrû) will be hindered. When a planet culminates in Ab, the bed of warriors will be wide. From Ašaridu.

Rev. 3. 'The bed of warriors wide' refers to plague. See No. 232, Obv. 3.

No. 216c. Mercury has appeared. When Mercury appears for a month, floods and rain. Mars (*Lubad-dir*) for prosperity of people. From Nírgal-iṭir.

No. 217. Mercury is visible at sunrise. When Mercury appears for a month, rain and floods. When Mercury appears either in Iyyar or Siwan, a flood will come and benefit the fields and meadow lands. When Mercury stands in the east, there will be an invasion of Subarti and Kaššî against the land.

This is the fact (?) of the matter: I have not come to Nineveh (because) the magicians to write in the palace (? began ?) . . Whatever . . . on the front of it 'Nineveh' I will make: unless they have begun I shall not come in; let them give me a sealed letter. From Nabu-mušíṣi.

The latter part apparently refers to the writing of some inscriptions, but the text is too mutilated to make certain.

No. 218. When Mercury is seen in Iyyar, a flood will come and benefit the fields and meadow lands. When Jupiter reaches Mars (*Mulmul*), it will rain. On the fourteenth the Moon and Sun were not seen with one another: on the fifteenth god was seen with

god. The king of Subarti will have no rival. (I have heard from my father.) From Bíl-aḫí-íriba.

No. 219. When Mercury culminates in Tammuz, there will be corpses. When Leo is dark, the heart of the land will not be happy. Long live the lord of kings! From Ašaridu.

No. 220. When Mercury culminates in Elul, there will be a heightening of the market, an increase of cereals. Long live the lord of kings! From Ašaridu (the less).

No. 221. Mercury is visible at sunrise in the precincts of Virgo. This is its interpretation. When Mercury (*Nunu*) approaches Spica (*Pan*), the crops of the land will prosper, the cattle will be numerous in the fields, the king will grow strong and will overcome (?) his enemies. Sesame and dates will prosper. When Mercury culminates in Elul, there will be a heightening (of the market), an increase of cereals. When *Daḫ* is visible in Elul . . . will prosper. (*Daḫ* = Mercury.) From Ašaridu, the son of Damḳa, the king's servant.

Obv. 2. AB.SIN = *širû* (Brunnow, *List* No. 3832) = Virgo (Epping and Strassmaier, *Zeits.*, VII, 220).

No. 222. When Mercury appears in Elul, there will be a heightening of the market, an increase of cereals. When Leo (*Ur-maḫ*) makes its stars to shine, let the king wherever he goes (guard himself?). When Leo (*Urgula*) is dark, lions and jackals will rage and the traffic of Aḫarru will be hindered. From Ṭabia.

Obv. 2. The fourth sign ÁŠ may perhaps be read *ina* here, *i.e. ina napaš nissabu;* but Brunnow, *List*, No. 23 = *miṯḫaru*, and it is possible that *maḫiru* may be intended here.

No. 223. When Mercury culminates in Marcheswan, the crops of the land will prosper. When Scorpio is dim in the centre, there will be obedience in the land. (Mercury stands within Scorpio.) When in the flaming light of Scorpio (*-Išḫara*) its breast is bright, its tail is dark, its horns are brilliant, rains and floods will be dry in the land: locusts will come and devour the land; devastation of

oxen and men: (the weapon is raised and the land of the foe) is captured. . . Scorpio . . .

Obv. 5. No. 223A gives several variants *Rev.* 5–6, 'its horns *ningula* (or) *ninbuṭa.*' 7–8, 'Its tail *iṭati*, rains and floods NIM ^{pl} -ni (i.e., *išakku* 'will be high').

No. 224. [Mercury] is visible. When Mercury is visible in Kislew, there will be robbers in the land. From Nirgal-iṭir.

No. 225 (*Obv.* 3, *ff.*) Mercury stands within Simmaḫ. When Mercury approaches the 'Star of the Tigris' there will be rains and floods. (Mercury is visible at Sunrise.)

Obv. 4. ^{mul} MAS . TIG . GAR = *Anunitu* (Brunnow, *List*, No. 1878).

No. 226. Mercury is visible with Mars (*Mulmul*) at sunset; it is ascending to Šugi. There will be rains and floods. When Jupiter appears at the beginning of the year, in that year its crops will prosper. From Nadinu.

No. 228. Mercury stands in Leo. When Leo is dim, the heart of the land will not be happy. When Regulus is dim, the director of the palace will die. From Nabu-mušiṣi.

Obv. 1. *Cf.* No. 199A, *Obv.* 1–2.

No. 230 (*Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 1). When Spica (*Pan*) stands within the Moon's halo, lawless men will rage and there will be robbery in the land. It will not change to evil. The halo of Virgo is for rain and flood; it is turning cold.

No. 231 (*Obv.* 1–6). When Mars is visible in Tammuz, the bed of warriors will be wide. When Mercury stands in the north, there will be corpses, there will be an invasion of the king of Akkad against a foreign land. When Mars approaches Gemini, a king will die and there will be hostility.

Obv. 2. No. 232, *Obv.* 3, explains the omen 'bed of warriors' as referring to plague.

No. 232. Mars is visible in Tammuz: it is dim. When Mars is visible in Tammuz, the bed of warriors will be wide: (it refers to plague.) When Mars stands in the east, there will be an invasion of Subarti and Kašši against the land. When Mars culminates indistinctly (?) and becomes brilliant, the king of Elam will die. When Nírgal in its disappearing grows smaller, like the stars of heaven is very indistinct, he will have mercy on Akkad. The forces of my troops will go and slay the army of the enemy, an audacious land they will overcome. The troops of the foe will not be able to stand against my troops. The cattle of Akkad will lie down securely in the fields: sesame and dates will prosper. When Mercury approaches Mars (Nabû), horses will die. (*La isnik* = *la ḳurbu.*) When Mars is dim, it is lucky; when bright, unlucky. When Mars follows Jupiter, that year will be lucky. From Bulluṭu.

Obv. 6. *ummuliš* and cf. *ummul*, see Delitzsch, p. 83, b.
Obv. 12. *ṣarramu*, cf. Syr. *ṣ'rama* audacia.
Rev. 4. For *nin* in the text, read *dam.*

No. 233. When Mars is visible in Elul, the crops of the land will prosper, the land will be satisfied. Mars (*Lubad-dir*) is for abundance of people. Mars at its disappearance became brilliant. From Nabû-iḳbi.

No. 234. When Mars approaches the Moon and stands, the Moon will cause evil to inhabit the land. When a planet stands at the left horn of the Moon, the king will act mightily. When a star stands at the left front of the Moon, the king will act mightily. When a star stands at the left rear of the Moon, the king of Akkad will work mightily. When Virgo (*Dilgan*) stands at its left horn, in that year the vegetables of Akkad will prosper. When Virgo (*Dilgan*) stands above it, in that year the crops of the land will prosper. When a star stands at the left horn of the Moon, a hostile land will see evil. When a star stands at its left horn, there will be an eclipse of the king of Aḫarru. The *Gan-ba* of that land will be diminished; it will rain. When a star stands at its left horn, an eclipse of the king of Aḫarrû will take place. When at its left horn a star (stands) Rammânu will devour in a hostile land (or) an eclipse will take place, (or) an eclipse of the king of Aḫarrû: his land will be diminished. From Zakir.

No. 235. Mars had reached Cancer (*Allul*), it has entered it: I kept watch, it did not stay, it did not remain but came out below it. A breeze (sprang up) as it went forth; its interpretation to the king my lord I send. If ever (one) sends to the king, my lord, thus: 'When Mars approaches Allul, the prince (will die?),' when it stands and waits . . . it is evil for Akkad. If ever one sends to the king, my lord, thus: 'When a planet (appears?) in a blast of wind, the king of Subarti . . . .' (This word implies 'weakness'; let not the king lay it to heart.) Last night it thundered. When it thunders in Ab, the day is dark, the heaven rains, lightning lightens, floods will be poured in the channels. When it thunders on a cloudless day, there will be darkness (or) there will be famine in the land. From Akkullanu.

Rev. 1. The king of Subarti = the king of Assyria, from No. 62, Obv. 4, 'We are Subarti.'

No. 236. Mars has entered the precincts of Cancer (*Allul*). It is not counted as an omen. It did not stay, it did not wait, it did not rest; speedily it went forth. From Bíl-naṣir.

Obv. 6. *ikaši*, *cf.* Syriac *kâš* destitit, quievit.

No. 236c (*Obv.* 4). Mars stands in Pabilsag (the sting of Scorpio means Pabilsag). Mars stands and waits in Pabilsag.

Obv. 6. For ana . . ḳabi = 'means,' *cf.* No. 232, 3, and on Pabilsag = Ziḳit Aḳrabi, *cf.* No. 272, obv. 9.

No. 237. When Urbarra Urmaḫ . . . distant days . . to the land . . . Urbarra = [Mars], Urmaḫ = [Leo], Mars stood in . . . When a star shines and enters . . . there will be a revolt. From Nabû-aḫî-íriba.

Obv. 1. *Urbarra.* According to K 4195, Col. III–IV, it = Mars.

No. 239 (*Obv.* 1–5). When Mars (*Apin*) approaches Scorpio, the prince will die by a scorpion's sting, and his son after him will take the throne; the dwelling of the land . . the land another lord . . the boundary line of the land will not be secure.

No. 240. When Mars (*Mulmul*) is darkened over the Moon and stands, the king will act mightily, his land will be enlarged. From Nabû-ikiša of Borsippa. May Bel and Nebo give long days and happiness to the king of countries, my lord. With the king we have acted innocently. Now among my brothers in the palace an attack on the treasury was made and they slew the scribe whom the king had caused me to take with them, and my magician; and to me they said 'It was an edict with us.' I went with my brothers and peace shall be made and I will keep the watch of the king, my lord. Why . . . . may Bel and Nebo be gracious (?); O king, judge thou . . .

Obv. 1. DAR = *barâmu* (Brunnow, *List*, No. 3482). See Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 7.

Obv. 9. *masartu*, perhaps from *asâru* besiege.

No. 241 (*Obv.* 4, *ff.*). When at the Moon's appearance Mars (*Mulmul*) stands at its side, the king will act mightily, his land . . . When Mars enters the Moon and goes forth northward, the heart of the land will be happy: the king of Akkad will grow powerful and will have no rival. From Bîl-aḫî-íriba, son of Labaši-ili.

Obv. 4. On this plural verb, *cf.* No. 243A, obv. 1–2.

No. 243 (*Obv.* 3). On Ištar (Venus) wearing a crown, see No. 209.

No. 243A (*Obv.* 1–2). Mulmul is used with a plural verb.

No. 243B (*Rev.* 1, *ff.*). When at the beginning of the year Mars stands in the *našu* of Venus, the enemy or a flood will spoil the crops. From Nírgal-iṭir.

Rev. 3. The vertical stroke in the last sign may be a fracture, and the whole word will therefore read *umarrum*.

No. 244. When the Pleiades (Šugi) over the Moon are darkened and stand, (and) enter the Moon, the king will stand in his might, will dwell, and will enlarge his land, and to his land will be good: there will be justice and truth in the land. From Ištar-šuma-íríš.

No. 244A (*Obv.* 1–2). When the Pleiades, their circle is bright . . . the house (against) its master will revolt.

Obv. 1. *kurkurru*, Heb. *kârâr* revolve. See No. 49.

No. 244B (*Obv.* 2–3). When Libra . . . before the Moon, the reign of the king will be long.

No. 245. When the Moon occults *Kilba*, there will be an eclipse of Subarti. When Spica (*Pan*) is darkened over the Moon and enters the Moon, the days of the prince will be long. The Moon for one year is long. Let the king give heed, let him not pass it by, let him guard himself, let not the king go into the street on an evil day until the time of the omen has passed. (The omen of a star lasts for a full month.) From Irašši-ilu, the king's servant.

No. 246B (*Obv.* 1–3). When *Simmaḫ* grows bright, an invasion of an army . . . .

No. 246F. When a star stands in front of the Moon . . . the king will act mightily. When Mars approaches the Moon and waits, the Moon will cause evil to dwell in the land. When a star stands on the left of the Moon, the land of the foe will see evil. From Nabû-íriba.

No. 247. What is this favour which Ištar has granted the king, my lord? . . . . (*Rev.* 3 *ff.*) When a star (?) turns back and appears, the king will prolong life. From Ištar-šuma-íríš.

X. Omens from Clouds.

No. 248. When a cloud grows dark in heaven, a wind will blow. From Nabû-aḫî-íriba.

XI. Omens from the Moon's Disappearance.

No. 249 (*Obv.* 3 *ff.*). On the twenty-seventh the Moon disappeared. When the day of the Moon's disappearance in one month three times (occurs), an eclipse will take place, and the gods

for three days in heaven will . . . . When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Elul, there will be a devastation of the land. . . . This thirtieth day (it should appear). The lord of kings has spoken thus, 'Does the omen change?' The Moon waned on the twenty-seventh: the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth in heaven (are) the intervening space, and on the thirtieth the Moon reappears. Unless it appears there will be an uncovered interval of four days in heaven: otherwise the interval will not be four days. Long live the king! From Ašaridu.

Obv. 4. *ûm bubbuli.* Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 91.

Rev. 3. *bûtu* (√b-'-d) 'originally perhaps dividing point or space' (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, 147, b). The root idea is 'separation.'

Rev. 5. *immatima* with precatives: *cf.* the use of double jussives in Hebrew (Ps. cix, 20, *etc.*).

Rev. 6. *babti* in contracts 'unpaid, uncovered' (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, 146a). *Libid, ibid*, same root as *bûtu* above.

XII. Omens from Storms.

No. 250. When a storm comes upon the land, the crops will be increased, the market will be steady. When a storm prevails in the land, the 'reign' of the land will rule great power. When a storm bursts in Sebat, an eclipse of Kašši will take place. From Ašaridu, the king's servant.

Obv. 3. *sadir*, see No. 123, obv. 4.

Obv. 6. For the explanation of an eclipse of Kašši, see Introduction.

No. 251 (*Obv.* 3 *ff.*). When there is a storm in the land, prosperity of people. When a storm prevails in the land, the 'reign' of the land will rule great power. When a storm bursts on the day of Zu (?) (it has not been recorded: a storm is lucky and does not bring to evil. Last night a star 'the head of Scorpio' stood in front of the Moon. Its omen changes not, there is none, it has not been determined).

If *Ṣurru* the Moon (?) . . . (7) it is a constant omen.

Let them lay the month under a ban; every star of heaven has gone (?) and in the evil of the month Kislew, unless it pass, let them ban it.

Rev. 8 *ff.* We may find a parallel to this in Job iii, 8, 'Let them ban it that ban the day.' *Litruru* is the I, 2 conj. of *arâru*, the same word as used in the Hebrew.

No. 252. When a storm bursts in Adar, blight will come upon the land. The Uruk-god divides from Nebo (PA) to Nebo (ÚR), it will not rain. When the Uruk-god divides over a city, the city, the king and its princes will be happy. From Aḫišâ of Erech.

Obv. 3. $^{\text{ilu}}$ TIR . AN . NA = *Uruk*, Brunnow, *List*, No. 7665. Esarhaddon (KT. ii, 138, VI, 6) explains how he adorned the arches of his palace with a glaze, so that both in shape and colour they looked like $^{\text{ilu}}$ *Tiranna*, *i.e.*, the rainbow. It occurs elsewhere in the storm texts, 'When it thunders, the day is dark, heaven rains, Uruk divides, lightning lightens,' *etc.* (No. 258, obv. 1–3). *Cf.* K. 200, rev. 21, 'When a halo surrounds the Moon and *Tiranna* in its midst . . . . (and l. 23) when a halo surrounds the Moon and the halo like *Tiranna* II ú . . . .' Perhaps there is some connection between the word *Uruk* and the Syr. *ûrâgâ* 'versicolor.'

No. 252E (*Obv.* 13). Of that which the king, our lord, sent us, saying, 'Have ye had rain?' We have had much (?) rain.

XIII. Omens from Thunder.

No. 253. When it thunders on the day of the Moon's disappearance, the crops will prosper and the market will be steady. When it rains on the day of the Moon's disappearance, it will bring on the crops and the market will be steady. Long live the lord of kings! From Ašaridu.

No. 254 (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). If Rammânu should thunder in the midst of the Sun, there will be mercy upon the land. ('In the midst of the Sun' which they say when, the Sun being at its zenith,

Rammânu speaks in the morning from the direction of the Sun's zenith.) From Balasî.

Rev. 2. The character *ik* may be *ri*.

No. 256. Of the work of which the king, my lord, spoke, this night of the twenty-second, with regard to Venus and *Kaksidi* we ourselves will do it, the magicians shall do it. When Rammânu thunders in the midst of the star Lî, the king's hand will overcome a land other than this.

Obv. 5. *kaksidi*. See Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 49 *ff.*

No. 256A (*Obv.* 5 *ff.*). When Rammânu thunders in the great gate of the Moon, there will be a slaying of Elamite troops with the sword: the goods of that land will be gathered into another land. (This is what is when the Moon appears and it thunders.) From Buluṭu.

No. 256D (*Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 2). When it thunders in Ab, the day is dark, the heaven rains (?) the crops of the land will prosper. When it thunders on a cloudless day, there will be famine. When lightning lightens on a cloudless day, Rammânu will inundate. ('A cloudless day' = Ab. 'Rammânu will inundate,' which they say when . . . .) When a storm wind blows from the south, there will be a devastation of Aḫarrû.

Obv. 2. *irub* or *irup*. SU . SU . RU is explained as *irpi* (see No. 87, obv. 3, 5, 6).

No. 257. When it thunders in Ab, the day is dark, heaven rains, lightning lightens, waters will be poured forth in the channels. When it thunders on a cloudless day, there will be darkness (or) famine in the land.

Concerning this sickness the king has not spoken from his heart. The sickness lasts a year: people that are ill recover. Do thou grant, O king my lord, that they pursue the worship of the gods and pray the gods day and night. Does truth ever reach the king and his family? A man should kill a calf (?) without blemish, he should cut it in pieces; he himself should say as follows, 'A man that is in full health, his days are short (?): he is sick, his days are long.' From Ištar-šuma-íris.

Rev. 3. *iluttu*, perhaps from √*alâdu*, *aširtu* √*ašaru*, 'prosper, thrive.'

Rev. 4. *ibatti*, uncertain. *Cf.* however numerous Semitic words beginning with the root letters *b-t-* meaning 'to cut.' *Cf.* also the ceremony in Gen. xv, 10.

No. 258 (*Obv.* 7 *ff.*). When it rains in Ab there will be a slaughter of men. When a storm wind comes from the west, there will be a destruction of Aḫarrû. When it thunders twice, the land which sent thee hostility will send thee peace. From Nabû-aḫî-iriba.

No. 259. When it thunders in Tisri, the day is dark, heaven rains, the rainbow is divided, lightning lightens, the gods will have mercy on the land. From the Chief Scribe.

No. 260. When it thunders in Tisri, there will be hostility in the land. When it rains in Tisri, death to sick people and oxen (or) slaughter of the enemy. From Ṭabia.

No. 261. When it thunders in Sebat, there will be an invasion of locusts. When it thunders in Sebat, heaven will rain with stones.

No. 262 (*Obv.* 5, *ff.*). When it thunders in Adar, the day is dark, heaven rains, lightning lightens, a great flood will come, and the crops (will prosper). From . . .

XIV. Omens from Earthquakes.

No. 263. When the earth quakes through the whole day, there will be a destruction of the land. When it quakes continually, there will be an invasion of the enemy. From Nabû-iḳbi, of Kutha.

Obv. 2. *Nâšu* is used for heaven and earth quaking at the approach of a god. When Ninib marches, the heaven and earth quake (*inuššu* Rm. 126, Rev. 3–4 Delitzsch, p. 454, b). We can finally settle the meaning of *rîbu* from a comparison of these texts. No. 266, *Obv.* 5. *ff.* reports 'Last night *rîbu irtubu*.' Then follow three prognostics, the protases of which are (1) *Ana ina* ^{arḫu} *Ṭibiti ri-i-bu ŠU-ub* (2) *Ana ina* ^{arḫu} *Ṭibiti*

KI (= *irṣitu*) *ŠU-ub* (3) *Ana ina muši KI i-ru-ub.* From the first two it is obvious that *rîbu ŠU-ub* and *KI ŠU-ub* are closely analogous in meaning, or they would not have both been used to explain *rîbi irtubu.* It needs little further demonstration that *ŠU-ub* = *irûb;* but this can be directly proved from W.A.I. III, 61, rev. I, 3, where the protasis *inuma ri-i-bu i-ru-ub* is followed by the apodosis *šarru ina âl nakri uš-ba*, which is practically the same as that for *rîbu ŠU-ub* in our present text, both being omens for Tebet. Again, a comparison of W.A.I. III, 61, *obv.* III, 27, and No. 265, *obv*, 1–2 (both omens for Nisan), will show that *rîbu irûb* = *KI irûb.* The former has *inuma ri-i-bu i-ru-ub šarru mât-su BAL-su nap-paḫ-tum in-nap-paḫ*, and the latter *Ana ina arḫu Nisanni KI i-ru-ub šarru mât-su BAL-su* . . . Further, No. 264, though beginning 'of the *rîbi* of which the king, my lord, sent me, this is its interpretation,' yet in all three explanations given below it uses *KI-tim* or *KI.* We have now to settle the meaning of *rîbu.* No. 266, rev. 3–4, gives *Ana ina muši KI i-ru-ub na-zak mâti* . . . *šumḳuti* (*i*) *mâti*, but No. 267, rev. 1–2, gives as a variant *Ana KI ina muši i-nu-uš na-zak mâti* . . . . . , and No. 265, Obv. 3–4, *Ana KI-tim ina muši i-nu* . . *na-zak mâti šumḳuti* (*i*) *mâti.* From this it is plain that *irûb* = *inuš*, and the meaning of *inuš* 'shakes, quakes' is certain (Delitzsch, p. 454, b). We may therefore consider that *rîbu irûb* = *irṣitu irub* = *irṣitu inuš* = 'the earth quakes.'

Obv. 4. *Sadir* appears to have the meaning of 'prevailing.' It is used of the wind and storms. See Note to No. 123, Obv. 4.

No. 264. Concerning the earthquake of which the king, my lord, sent me, this is its interpretation. When the earth quakes continually there will be an invasion of the enemy. When the earth quakes in the night, harm will come to the land (or) devastation to the land . . . .

Of the remainder we can guess approximately at the sense. Apparently Ištar-šuma-íríš himself felt an earthquake in the night, and he reports on it in *ll.* 7–8, as well as giving the explanation above in *l.* 5. He is evidently writing his report

in answer to the king's question in the beginning of Nisan 655 B.C. (*cf.* Edge 1, 'Eponym Labasi'), but he does not seem certain whether the earthquake which the king felt happened in Nisan or the last month of the preceding year, for he sends the omen for an earthquake in Nisan, and then says 'unless it began in Adar.'

No. 265. When the earth quakes in Nisan, the king's land will revolt from him. When the earth quakes during the night, harm will come to the land, or devastation to the land. From Aplâ.

No. 265A (*Rev.* 3 *ff.*). The ends of the lines are mutilated, but I think we may read 'When the earth quakes in Tammuz, the prince will be magnified in the land of his foe.'

No. 265C (*Obv.* 1–2). The hiatus may be supplied from W.A.I. III, 61, III, 51, 'When the earth quakes in Tisri, the crops will prosper, there will be hostility in the land.'

No. 266 (*Obv.* 5, *ff.*). Last night there was an earthquake. When the earth quakes in Tebet, the king will sit in the city of his foe. When the earth quakes in Tebet, the palace of the prince will be smitten and go to ruins. When the earth quakes in the night, there will be harm to the land (or) devastation to the land. From the Chief Astrologer.

No. 267 (*Obv.* 12–15). When the earth quakes in Sebat, the corn its weight will weigh; there will be expeditions of the enemy. When the earth quakes in Sebat, another prince will sit in the palace.

Obv. 8. *Šamû issu* 'heaven speaks' = thunder.

Obv. 3. i.e. *kibrat irbitti*, Brunnow, *List*, No. 5782.

Obv. 10–11. *Iriškigal ikkilla-ša kima ur . . . . irṣitim mâtu inadi(di)*. Iriškigal is known to us through the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. (See Bezold-Budge, *Tell-el Amarna Tablets*, LXXXV.) She was invited to a feast of the gods and apparently entered the fourteen gates of their abode; but she and Nirgal quarrelled and he 'began to beat her head from the seat to the floor,' whereat she besought him not to kill her. Staying his hand he listened to her: he was to be husband, she the

wife, and they were to rule the wide earth: and so he took her, kissed her, and dried her tears, and whatever she desired was done for her.

The explanation of the 'mourning of Íríškigal' is evidently to be sought here, but what it means is difficult to say. The writer of the Tell-El-Amarna tablet perhaps intended an explanation of the word Íríškigal, when he finished his story with *minamma tirišinni*, 'whatever thou askest me.'

No. 267A. When the heavens are darkly smitten (?), there will be plenty in the land.

Ṣillâ has sent by the hand of Šakin-šumi thus, 'I will put thee to death, for why dost thou say "Sillâ has taken away my property;" now Munnabitu is the witness of thee, and Bíl . . . is my judge.' What witness is there in regard to such of my property as he has taken? If he learns all that I have told the king (and there is still some which I have not told the king) he will take it all. I have prayed in my father's house, but he has always acted craftily; he is always plotting against the men of my family (?). Let not the king, my lord, leave me. From Zakir.

Obv. 1. This text has been published by Pinches, *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing*, p. 10, and again by Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 416. The text of the first line may be read *Ana šamí adir-ma ḪI-iṣ.* .

Rev. 1. *iššû, lamídû;* verbs in dependent sentences and therefore with final *-u*.

Rev. 4. *Ḳatâ ultíli.* To 'lift the hands' is often an expression for prayer. *Cf.* the Series 'the Lifting of the Hand' (King, *Babylonian Magic*).

Rev. 6. $^{a\text{-}m}$*ša-ti-iá.* Possibly this may be *amíl ša balâṭi-iá;* for this use of *balâṭu*, *cf.* No. 124, rev. 5.

XV Omens from Eclipses.

No. 268. I have not informed the king, my lord, of the account of the eclipse with my own mouth, I have not yet written, so I send to the king. Of the eclipse, its evil up to the very month, day, watch, point of light where it began and where the Moon pulled and drew off its eclipse—these concern its evil.

Siwan = Aḫarrû, and a decision to Ur is given: it is evil for the fourteenth day, (which they explain 'the fourteenth day = Elam.') The exact point where it began we do not know; the Moon drew off part of its eclipse in a south-westerly direction. It is evil for Elam and Aḫarrû. From the east and north, when bright, it is lucky for Subarti and Akkad; it says that they will have favour (?) The omen of all lands:—the right of the Moon is Akkad, the left Elam, the top Aḫarrû, the bottom Subartu . . . .

(*Rev.* 3 *ff.*) The omen is favourable and the king, my lord, may be content. Jupiter stood in the eclipse; it portends peace for the king, his name will be honourable, unique . . . Of that name, let the king be bountiful towards anyone who shall greet the king; if the king be humble, the king of the gods of heaven and earth will send peace to the king, my lord. The king may say something thus: 'The king of the gods (thou sayest) will send peace; why then hast thou sent this about Sirrapu and Arubî?' I thus in my turn, 'Let the king go on in his work, let him continue upon his work, and may the king, my lord, be happy. May Bel and Nebo give all lands to the king, my lord.'

The king, my lord, gave me a command saying, 'keep my watch and tell me what happens.' Now all that has taken place before me with a propitious greeting to the king, my lord, unto the king I send. Twice, thrice . . in the presence of the king his hands (?) . . . and may the king enter into the despatches (?) . . . . that I have sent true words to the king. From Munnabitu.

Obv. 2. *kâmu* 'instead,' 'on the other hand.'

Obv. 3. *urrîtu*, evidently of the same root as *urru* 'daylight,' 'light.'

Rm. 193, from Zakir has not been inserted. The obv. is much broken; the rev. gives the omens for an eclipse from the 1st to the 30th of Siwan, for an eclipse on the 14th of Siwan (as in No. 270, rev. 1), for Pabilsag (as No 271, obv. 8). Rev. 13 *ff.* explains 'The evening watch is for corpses, the evening watch for three months and days . . . the' . . is Akkad, Siwan is Aḫarrû, the fourteenth day is Elam.'

No. 269. When ḪU. BI. A is dark in the west, there will be a famine for the king of Aḫarrû . . . . When . . is dark and a

south wind 'rises,' locusts will come. When there is an eclipse of the Sun on the twenty-eighth of Iyyar, the king's days will be long, . . the land will eat an abundant market. (In Iyyar the Sun was eclipsed; it will eat plenty, the king's days will be long.) When the Sun at its zenith is like a crescent and becomes full like the Moon, the king will conquer the land of his enemy, the land will overcome (?) its evil and see happiness. When the Sun is eclipsed on the twenty-ninth of Iyyar, the shadow beginning in the north and remaining on the south, its left horn being pointed and its right horn long, the gods of the four regions will be troubled, a great . . will speak by the mouth of the god; the invasion of a . . king will come, the throne until the fifth year he will hold (?): there will be a revolt in Akkad: son will slay his father, brother will slay his brother, sick princes . . . days in Akkad, that king a dog will destroy: the enemy will capture a fenced (?) city, that king will die and there will be fighting in the temple of Bel. There will be corpses on the first day, the king of Aḫarrû . . . . (remainder multilated).

Obv. 4. *kupuru*, evidently connected with the Heb. *kâphâr* 'cover,' is the shadow of the eclipse. The ideograph = an enclosed shadow.

Obv. 7 refers to the Sun's appearance during an eclipse.

Obv. 8. *kaṭ lim* = ? Heb. *ḳâṭâl.*

Obv. 12. The first sign is probably not *lu.*

No. 270 (*Obv.* 4*ff.*). When an eclipse happens and a north wind blows, the gods will have mercy on the land. When the Moon rises darkly, there will be a darkening of . . . (?) When the Moon rises darkly . . . . , destruction of all lands. When the Moon rises darkly and becomes like . . . (?), the king will devastate countries in defeat, (or) the gods will devastate countries in defeat. When the Moon is dark in Siwan, Rammânu after a year will inundate the crops of the land. When an eclipse happens in Siwan in the evening watch, inrush of fish and locusts. When an eclipse happens on the fourteenth of Siwan, the king has the completing of the year, dies, and his son, who has no title to the kingdom, seizes the throne and there will be hostilities. When from the first to the thirtieth of Siwan an eclipse happens, an eclipse of the king of Akkad, . . . of might will be, and Rammânu will inundate the crops of the land.

A great army (or) an army will be slain. Though for prosperity the king, city, and people work mightily and they are successful, there will be no springing up of produce in that year.- When on the . . day an eclipse happens, and the god in his shadow . . . . until the middle watch, the end, and the north part of the Moon comes into thy hand, to Ur and the king of Ur a decision will be given; the land of Ur will see famine: corpses will be numerous. The king of Ur, his son injures him, and the son who injures his father Šamaš overcomes him, and in the pain of his father he will die: the son who has no title to the kingdom takes the throne. An eclipse of the evening watch is for corpses. When the day is fine in the evening watch, it is for three months and ten days. Siwan = Aḫarru: the fourteenth day = Elam: the evening watch = Akkad . . . to the king happiness . . .

Obv. 16. *bubulti: biblu, bibiltu* = produce.

No. 271 (*Obv.* 1–3). When an eclipse happens on the fourteenth of Siwan, and of the god in his shadow, the third side above is in shadow and the fourth side below is clear, it comes over the second side in the evening watch, and in the middle watch the end of its shadow appears and the second side comes into thy hand . . . (*The remainder to line 7 is similar to the preceding.*)

(*Obv.* 8 *ff.*) [When] . . below Pabilsag is dark, a decision is given to Muttabal and Babylon. An eclipse of the morning watch is for sickness, and a bright day in the morning watch is for three months and ten days. (The morning watch = Elam, the fourteenth day = Elam, Siwan = Aḫarru, the second side = Akkad) . . . . .

(*Rev.* 2 *ff.*) When an eclipse happens in the morning watch and it completes the watch, a north wind blowing, the sick in Akkad will recover. When an eclipse begins on the first side and stands on the second, there will be a slaughter of Elam: Guti will not approach Akkad. When an eclipse happens and stands on the second side, the gods will have mercy on the land. When the Moon is dark in Siwan, after a year Rammânu will inundate. When the Moon is eclipsed in Siwan, there will be flood and the product of the waters of the land will be abundant. When in Siwan an eclipse of the morning

watch happens, the temples of the land will be smitten, Samas will be hostile. (*Rev.* 14.) When an eclipse happens in Siwan out of its time, an all-powerful king will die, and Ramman will inundate; a flood will come and Ramman will diminish the crops of the land; he that goes before the army will be slain.

No. 271A. The Moon appeared on the 15th of Elul (with) the Sun; the eclipse failed. . . .

No. 272 (*Obv.* 7 *ff.*). When Sarur and Sargaz of the sting of Scorpio are bright, the weapons of Akkad will come. (The sting of Scorpio is the great lord Pabilsag). Venus is standing in Pabilsag. When Nirgal stands in Pabilsag, a strong enemy will raise (his weapons in) the land, Bel will give his weapons to the enemy; the wide forces of the enemy will slay troops. When Scorpio is dark, the kings of all lands will cause hostility (?) (or) the kings of all lands will rival (?). When Scorpio assumes a darkness, the food of men will be evil. (Mars stood within it.) When Libra is dark, the third year locusts will come and devour the crops of the land (or) locusts will devour the land . . . will devour the standing crops. The third year . . . Mars has stood within Scorpio: this is its interpretation. When Mars approaches Scorpio, the prince will die by a scorpion's sting (or) will be captured in his palace. . . . .

When Jupiter has culminated and passed Regulus and brightened it, the back part of Regulus (which Jupiter had passed and brightened) reaches and passes Jupiter, and it (Jupiter) then goes to its disappearance, there will be war, and the enemy will come and seize the throne, the land will be ravaged twice.

All the omens that have come to me concern Akkad and its princes; none of their evil concerns the king my lord: the eclipse of the Moon and Sun which happened in Siwan—these omens which are evil for Akkad and the kings of Aḫarrû are for Akkad; and yet in this month Marcheswan an eclipse happened . . . and Jupiter stood within the eclipse—it is well for the king, my lord. This is all which Bil-ušízib has sent to the king. Let the king so act that I may raise myself before the king, my lord. The princes of Akkad whom the king, thy father, had appointed have ravaged Babylon and carried off the goods of Babylon: in consequence of these omens of

evil which have come to me, let the army of the king go and in the palace . . . capture them and appoint others in their stead. Unless the king acts speedily, the foe . . . : he shall come and change them. I am clear. . . .

Obv. 11. Nirgal is Mars: Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 135.

Obv. 12. *mattu* is evidently a gloss to *miṣu* from the root *maṣû* to be broad.

Rev. 4. Evidently here we have a description of an apparent retrogression of Jupiter which appears to have formed a 'loop' near Regulus. Such a case happened to Mars and Regulus in 1868. In cases where a phenomenon repeats its action, the result of such an omen will also have a double effect —the land will be ravaged twice. *Cf.* also 'when it thunders twice, the land which sent thee hostility will send thee peace' (No. 258, rev. 3).

Rev. 13. *našaka*, *i.e.*, I may no longer prostrate myself.

No. 272c. An eclipse of the Moon will take place on the fourteenth of Adar. When on the fourteenth of Adar an eclipse of the evening watch happens to the Moon, a decision will be given to the all-powerful king, the king of Ur and Aḫarrû. Jupiter and Venus . . . in the eclipse of the Moon. When in Adar an eclipse of the Moon takes place, the king of Elam . . . When in Adar an eclipse of the evening watch . . . When in Adar from the first to the thirtieth day an eclipse happens, the reign of the king will be long, hostility . . . When for peace the king, the city and its people work and are at peace . . . (?) a flood will come and the great waters will burst forth. When the eclipse happens, let the king, my lord, send and for the king the great waters in Akkad . . . and burst forth, someone shall hear of it. From Nirgal-iṭir.

Rev. 4. *ina* ŠI . MU. The text is slightly doubtful; it might possibly be translated 'within a year.'

No. 273. On the fourteenth an eclipse will take place; it is evil for Elam and Aḫarrû, lucky for the king, my lord; let the king, my lord, rest happy. It will be seen without Venus; to the king, my lord, I say 'there will be an eclipse.' From Irašši-ilu, the servant of the king (the greater).

No. 274. To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant Bîl-usur (?) May Bel, Nebo and Šamaš be gracious to the king my lord. An eclipse has happened but it was not visible in Aššur; this eclipse passed the city Aššur, wherein the king is dwelling; now there are clouds everywhere so that whether it did or did not happen we do not know. Let the lord of kings send to Assur, to all cities, to Babylon, Nippur, Erech and Borsippa; whatever has been seen in those cities the king will hear for certain. The omens (?) . . the omen for an eclipse happened in Adar and Nisan; I send all to the king, my lord, and they shall make a *nambulbi*-ceremony for the eclipse. Without fail (?) let not the king omit (?) to act rightly. The great gods in the city wherein the king dwells have obscured the heavens and will not show the eclipse; so let the king know that this eclipse is not directed against the king, my lord, or his country. Let the king rejoice.

(When) it thunders in Nisan, corn (?) will be diminished.

No. 274A. The eclipse will pass, it will not take place. If the king should say 'What omens hast thou seen?'—the gods have not been seen with one another . . . . . the eclipse will pass, the Moon will be seen with (?) the Sun. From Munnabitu.

No. 274B (*Rev.* 1, *ff.*). The messenger who went to Marduk . . . returned, saying 'We have not been able to see the Sun, it is clouded over.' They have not seen it, nor have we, so we cannot return its report (?).

No. 274F (*Obv.* 1–8). To the king, my lord, I sent 'An eclipse will take place.' Now it has not passed, it has taken place. In the happening of this eclipse it portends peace for the king, my lord. Iyyar is Elam, the fourteenth day is Elam, the morning watch is . . . .

XVI. Omens from Akulutum.

No. 275. *Akulutum.* Though evidently connected with the root *akâlu* 'to eat,' the meaning is quite doubtful. It might perhaps be 'rust' or 'mildew.'

XVII. Omens from Births.

No. 276 (*Obv.* 1). IZ.BU UŠ u SAL.LA *i.e.* a hermaphrodite.

Obv. 'When a hermaphrodite is born which has no . . the son of the palace will rule the land (or) the king will capture.'

No. 277. When a fœtus has eight legs and two tails, the prince of the kingdom will seize power.

A certain butcher whose name is Uddanu has said 'When my sow littered, (a fœtus) had eight legs and two tails, so I preserved it in brine, and put it in the house.' From Nírgal-íṭir.

Obv. 5. ^{am} *maḫiṣu*, i.e. 'the smiter,' but doubtful.

Rev. 2. *ṭâbtu-andidil: cf. ina ṭabti ušnil* of Nabû-bíl-šumi, W.A.I. V, 7, 40 (Delitzsch, 439a). *Andidil* would appear to be a form like *uktataṣar*, Delitzsch, 591, a.

Rev. 3. It is possible that *bîtu* has the meaning of 'box' as *bêth* has sometimes in Hebrew.

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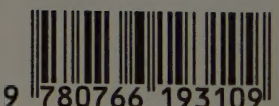

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